

**MOTHERS BEHIND BARS: CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED RELATING TO
CHILD CARE DURING INCARCERATION**

By

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SUMMARY

MOTHERS BEHIND BARS: CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED RELATING TO CHILD CARE DURING INCARCERATION

The study's intent is to explore challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers relating to childcare, based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. The theoretic framework of this study encompasses the Relational Theory, the Gendered Pathways Theory, and the General Strain Theory. This research utilises the qualitative research technique. Semi-structured, open-ended interviewing was concluded with 15 incarcerated mothers based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre using the probability sampling technique.

The relationship between a mother and her children is of paramount importance, even for incarcerated mothers. However, incarcerated mothers are unable to tend to their childcare responsibilities due to their physical and emotional limitations presented by incarceration. Incarcerated mothers in this study expressed their challenges experienced and their need for rehabilitation programmes to help them mitigate their childcare challenges. The research reveals that some of the incarcerated mothers have experienced traumatic backgrounds inclusive of emotional strains, financial impediments, verbal abuse, physical abuse and sexual abuse prior to their incarceration. Their challenges exacerbate whilst incarcerated and literature referred to denotes that their challenges continue post-release. Rehabilitation and reintegration of the offender have become the primary focus for the Department of Correctional Services seeing that its scope of service has shifted from a system of "control" to that of rehabilitation.

The study indicates gaps in the rehabilitation programmes offered by the Department. Further, the study intends to make recommendations to the Department of Correctional Services on implementing rehabilitation programmes that aid and support a healthy mother and child bond. Such programmes would

assist by enlightening, educating and encouraging incarcerated mothers to tighten and protect unions with their children and for the Department to offer special visitation programmes that aid such a process.

Key Words: Female misconduct, mothers incarcerated, correctional centre, feminist pathways approach, incarceration, international front, South African platform, rehabilitation, reintegration, visitation, bonding, mental health.

UKUFINGQA

Summary Isi-Zulu

ABANTU BAQALA IBHAYI: IZINSELELE EZIKHULULEKILE NGOKUKHETHA KWABANTU NGOKWENZEKA

Inhloso yalolu cwaningo ukuhlola izinselele ezitholwa omama ababoshiwe ngokuphathelene nokunakekelwa kwezingane, esekelwe eThekwini West Correctional Centre. Uhlaka lwama-theoretic walolu cwaningo luhlanganisa i-Theory Theory, i-Gendered Pathways Theory, ne-General Strain Theory. Lolu cwaningo lusebenzisa indlela yokucwaninga yekhwalthi. Izingxoxo ezinemihlangano evulekile, evuliwe ziphelile nabomama abangu-15 ababoshiwe base-Durban Westville Correctional Centre basebenzisa inqubo yokwenza isampula.

Ubuhlobo phakathi komama nezingane zakhe bubaluleke kakhulu, ngisho nakumama ababoshiwe. Kodwa-ke, omama ababoshiwe abakwazi ukuthambekela emithwalweni yabo yokunakekelwa kwengane ngenxa yokwehluleka kwabo ngokomzimba nangokomzwelo okuvezwe ukuboshwa. Owesifazane abangenalutho kulolu cwaningo babonisa izinselele zabo abahlangabezana nazo kanye nesidingo sabo sokuvuselela izinhlelo zokusiza ekunciphiseni izinselelo zabo zokunakekela izingane. Ucwaningo lwembula ukuthi abanye omama ababoshiwe baye babhekana nezizinda ezibuhlungu ezihlanganisa izinkinga

zomzwelo, izithiyo zemali, ukuhlukunyezwa ngamazwi, ukuxhashazwa ngokomzimba nokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi ngaphambi kokuboshwa kwabo. Izinselelo zabo zikhungatheka kanti iziboshwa ezibhekiswe kuzo zikhomba ukuthi izinselele zabo ziqhubeka nokukhululwa. Ukuvuselelwa nokubuyiselwa kabusha kwalowo owenze iphutha kuye kwaba yiyona ndlela eyinhloko eMnyangweni Wezokwelulekwa Kwezempilo ngokubona ukuthi izinga labo lensizakalo lishintshile ohlelweni "lokulawula" kulokho lokuvuselelwa.

Ucwaningo lubonisa izikhala ezinhlelweni zokuvuselela ezinikezwe uMnyango. Ngaphezu kwalokho, lolu cwaningo luhlose ukwenza izincomo eMnyangweni Wezokwelulekwa Kwezokuqondisa ekusetshenzisweni izinhlelo zokuvuselela ezisiza nokusekela ukuboshwa komama nengane. Izinhlelo ezinjalo zizosiza ekukhanyiseni, ekufundiseni nasekukhuthazeni omama ababoshiwe ukuqinisa nokuvikela izinyunyana nezingane zabo kanye noMnyango ukuhlinzeka ngezinhlelo ezikhethekile zokuvakashelwa ezisiza.

ISISHWANKATHELO

Summary Xhosa

ABANTU ABAKHULULELA IBHAYIBHILE: IINGXOXO EZIBENZELEKILEYO NGOKUBHALWA KWABANTWANA NGOKWENZEKA

Injongo yesifundo kukuphanda iingxaki ezinokubanjwa koomama abavalelwe ngokubhekiselele ekunakekeleni abantwana, esekelwe kwi-Durban West Correctional Centre. Isikhokelo sobugcisa beli phofu siquka iNkcazo yobudlelwane, iNkcazelo yeGendered Ways, kunye ne-General Strain Theory. Olu phando lusebenzisa ubuchule bokuphanda. Iingxowa-ndlebe ezivulekileyo, ezivulekileyo zagqitywa kunye noomama abathunjiweyo aba-15 basekelwe e-Durban West Correctional Centre basebenzisa ubuchule bokuncedisa.

Ubudlelwane phakathi koomama nabantwana bakhe bubaluleke kakhulu, kwanokuba boomama abavalelwe. Nangona kunjalo, oomama abavalelwa bengenakukwazi ukunyamekela uxanduva lwabo lokunakekela abantwana ngenxa yokunciphisa ngokomzimba nangokomzwelo owenziwe ngokubanjwa. Oomama abangabandakanyekanga kulolu cwaningo babonisa imingeni yabo kunye neemfuno zabo zokuphucula iinkqubo zokubanceda ukunciphisa imingeni yokunakekela abantwana. Uphando luyabonisa ukuba abanye babamama abavalelwe bavaleleke kwimvelaphi ephazamisayo, kuquka imingcipheko yemvakalelo, iimingcipheko zemali, ukuxhaphazwa ngamagama, ukusetyenziswa kakubi ngokomzimba nokuxhaphazwa ngokwesondo ngaphambi kokuvallelwa. Imingeni yabo inzima xa iboshwe kunye neencwadi ezibhekiswe kuzo zibonisa ukuba imingeni yabo iyaqhubeka yokukhululwa. Ukubuyiselwa kwakhona nokubuyiswa kwakhona komenzi wesono kuye kwaba yintloko ekujoliswe kuyo kwiSebe leeNkonzo zoLuleko ekuboneni ukuba ububanzi beenkonzo sele buyekelele kwinkqubo "yokulawula" leyo yokubuyiswa.

Uphononongo lubonisa izikhala kwiiprogram zokuvuselela ezinikezelwa liSebe. Ukuqhubela phambili, isifundo sinenjongo yokwenza iingcebiso kwiSebe leeNkonzo zoLuleko ekuphunyezweni iinkqubo zokubuyisela ukuxhasa nokuxhasa unxibelelwano lomama nomntwana. Ezi nkqubo zinokuncedisa ngokukhanyisa, ukufundisa nokukhuthaza oomama abavalelwe ukuqinisa kunye nokukhusela iimanyano nabantwana babo kunye neSebe ukwenzela iinkqubo zokutyelela ezikhethekileyo.

DECLARATION

1. I assert that “Mothers behind bars: challenges experienced relating to child care during incarceration” is my individual effort and that all quotes and sources used have been recognised by references.
2. I further declare that I submitted the thesis/dissertation to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.
3. I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

.....

(Signature) Sharona Deonarain

.....

Date

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CHAPTER ONE

THE RESEARCH: PERSPECTIVES OF CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY INCARCERATED MOTHERS

This chapter highlights the contextual and related phenomenon regarding challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers in correctional centres. The research problem, the research question, the aims, the reasoning and the research methodology adopted will be outlined. The chapter closes by describing the organisation of the remainder of the study.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

When mothers are incarcerated, a vast array of childcare challenges is presented. A principle challenge incarcerated mother's experience is regarding the care of her minor children. Most often, a child's father is not in the picture (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:2; Fontebo, 2013:228; Vetten, 2008:139; Haffejee, Vetten & Greyling, 2006:3; United Nations, 2008:17). Therefore, in some instances, the family of an incarcerated mother tends to assist by caring for her children (Feder, 2003:237). However, if extended family is not available to help, the formal foster care system has the responsibility to step up to take care of the children (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17; Gowland, 2011:23; Luyt, 2008:316).

Incarcerated, mothers are usually offered different sorts of rehabilitation programmes, such as those involving parenting education classes, substance abuse or mental health services, anger management classes, and further education opportunities (Department of Correctional Services 2005:69; Department of Correctional Services, 2012:13; Gillingham, 2001:5). However, such programmes often fall short of meeting the needs of incarcerated mothers whom they are intended to serve (De Wet, 2005:147; Artz, Hoffman-Wanderer & Moul, 2012:4; Sheridan, 1996:432; Covington, 2007:1). It rather seems that most

rehabilitation programmes presented to incarcerated mothers were originally designed for the male inmate population (Skiles, 2012:667; Sheridan, 1996:432; Artz *et al*, 2012:235; James, 2016:114). Noting a continuous growth in the amount of incarcerated mothers (Easterling, 2012:2; Swimeley, 2008:1) financial and time constraints result in many of these programmes failing to recognise the different challenges borne by incarcerated mothers with regards to childcare (Hoffmann, Byrd, & Kightlinger, 2010:409; James, 2016:121; Clark, 1995: 310).

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The superiority of the role of a mother in childcare can never be ignored. This is affirmed by the concept of the 'mother superior', defined as a Christian nun in charge of a Christian religious order of churchgoers. She is described as being mother superior, the gentlest and most compassionate of nuns. Her responsibility is to provide healing and nurturing of the human soul. This is a highly distinguished role where she cares for, looks after, nurtures and protects her society of people (Boudreau, 2005:77; Mathews, 2012:74). A synonymous word to these roles and characteristics is the word comfort, which is the easing of an individual's pain, grief, and distress (Collins Online English Dictionary). It is likened that in individual homes, a mother is responsible for her children where she emits the same characteristics as the mother superior. The researcher originates from a Hindu group of people where the importance of a mother is revered. Online articles indicate that "Matha, Pitha, Guru Deviam" is a popular adage from Sanskrit. This means "Mother, Father, Teacher God", always citing the mother first and foremost (Vjai, 2009; Sayyavu, 2010). It is accepted that most religions and cultures around the world revere the practice of placing great emphasis on the role of a mother (Whybray 1972:186). A mother is a mother irrespective of her circumstances, inclusive of her misgivings. Her rights to motherhood should not be lessened or weakened, even if she is an incarcerated mother.

Due to unlawful acts females are incarcerated and as a result of this incarceration, they are unable to completely fulfil their mothering responsibilities towards their children. Being unable to be at the forefront of their children's upkeep due to physical constraints contains disturbing consequences. Emotional, physical, psychological as well as mental issues are bound to arise from the inability to perform as a mother. The effects of incarceration are stressful and this stress is intensified when mothers have to part with their children (Roguski & Chauvel 2009:9; Tomar, 2013:67; Travis & Waul 2003:36; Clark, 1995:311; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001:2; Harris, 2011:17). Moreover, a mother's connection shared amongst her and her children could be a vitally encouraging positive influence towards her change during her period of incarceration (Clark, 1995:308; United Nations, 2008:20). Once an individual becomes a mother, her status changes from a carefree single individual to that of someone who cares for and nurtures her children. However, once incarcerated, this position changes as mothers are no longer responsible for the daily upbringing of their children (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001:2; Harris, 2011:17; Brown and Bloom, 2009:325).

Research (Wahidin, 2002:1; Easterling 2012:6; Luyt, 2008:311) indicates that females are a minority group of inmates the world over. However, the majority of female inmates have children and are the sole providers for their families (Mafume, 2014:25; Harden & Marcia Hill, 1998:177; Easterling, 2012:2; Swimeley, 2008:1; Parveen, 2006:13). The reality is that the majority of incarcerated females are mothers (Haffejee, Vetten & Greyling, 2006:3; Clark, 2005:307; Law, 2014:1; Piacentini, Moran & Pallot, 2009:525; Luyt, 2008:311).

Whilst both men and women commit crime, the adversities women experience whilst incarcerated is not the same. Incarcerated mothers have to contend with further torment and distress whilst incarcerated. Research (Richie, Tsenin and Widom, 2000:5; Khalid & Khan, 2013:31; Owen, 1998:41) reveals that incarcerated females have endured considerably greater rates of rape whilst they were young and experienced volatile personal relationships as opposed to women in the

general populace. Furthermore, they experience great challenges whilst incarcerated as they are placed far away from their general support systems and frequently endure isolation from the outside world. When relatives or their parents pass away or fall sick, or when their children abscond, drop out of school, or endure sexual abuse, there is not much an incarcerated mother can do whilst confined, especially when the government services that should be helping them are ineffective (Haffejee, Vetten and Greyling, 2006:4; Easterling, 2012:54; Farrell, 1998:9-11; Easteal, 2001:88).

Seeing that most female offenders are mothers with children living outside correctional centres, it is of paramount importance that challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers are first identified. Second, the execution of rehabilitative programmes by the Department of Correctional Services is offered with a view to lessening these challenges.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The literature on challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers relating to childcare is severely limited (Mcquaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:234; Easterling, 2012:18, Fontebo, 2013:1; Vetten, 2008:134; Artz & Rotmann, 2015:3). This is alarming to note as studies indicate that most females incarcerated are mothers (Mafume, 2014:25; Harden & Marcia Hill, 1998:177; Easterling, 2012:2; Swimeley, 2008:1; Parveen, 2006:13). This element alone warrants for more research to be carried out that explores challenges as endured by incarcerated mothers. This study aims to improve the present standpoint by trying to understand and identify further innate challenges as experienced by incarcerated mothers.

Further, the embodiment of human rights emanated from the introduction of, first the Bill of Rights in the Interim Constitution (1993), and then followed by the Bill of Rights in the Constitution (1996), offenders included. The Department of Correctional Services was created in 1991. In adherence to the Bill of Rights, the

inception of a culture based on human rights was introduced to South Africa's correctional system with distinct importance being placed on women and children rights through the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998 (Republic of South Africa, 1998). Special attention on the importance of incarcerated mothers who have minors living outside the correctional centre has been emphasised by the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:79). It is envisaged that the participant's expressions in this research could be able to pinpoint the gaps regarding rehabilitation and reintegration programmes offered to incarcerated mothers and its effectiveness as conceded in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005).

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

Noting a lack of information available on challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers, this research aims to offer some answers to the ensuing questions listed as subheadings below.

1.4.1 Principal Research Question

The principal research question investigated is:

- What are the various challenges endured by an incarcerated mother based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre relating to childcare?

1.4.2 Research Sub-question

The research sub-question for this study is stated below:

- What rehabilitation and reintegration programmes are offered to help incarcerated mothers cope with their incarceration in relation to their primary duty of being a mother?

1.5 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to highlight the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre relating to childcare and the impacts these challenges have on her wellbeing, both emotionally and physically. Additionally, the study aims to uncover the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes offered to incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre.

1.5.2 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are to:

- firstly understand the various challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers relating to childcare and to then draw parallels across the globe,
- to bring to light the quality of programmes offered to incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional centre and if the same or similar sentiments are echoed across the globe,
- to make recommendations to the Department of Correctional Services to implement specific programmes which aid by alleviating challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION FOR AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Although many researchers (Hernandez, 2006; Bloom & Steinhart, 1993; Myers, 1999) have been accomplished in the field of maternal incarceration, they mostly address issues that concern the children of incarcerated mothers. Not many studies identify with the emotional impediments faced by incarcerated mothers (Mcquaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:234; Easterling, 2012:18, Fontebo, 2013:1; Vetten, 2008:134; Artz & Rotmann, 2015:3). Various issues relating to the emotional,

physical, as well as psychological aspects of an incarcerated mother's life is impacted upon negatively resulting from her inability of performing her roles and functions as a mother (Gowland, 2011:8; Roguski & Chauvel 2009:9; Tomar, 2013:67; Travis & Waul 2003:36; Clark, 1995:311; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001:2; Harris, 2011:17). For incarcerated mothers, one of the biggest punishments endured from the incarceration process is her separation from her children (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001:2; Clark, 1995:319; Harris, 2011:17).

There appear to be gaps regarding the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers as challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers have not been fully investigated. Hence, this study aims to bridge some of the existing gaps that were identified from the current literature.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology involves methods utilised to gather data and information, which could include literature study, interviewing, surveys and additional research procedures, and may include current and historical information (BusinessDictionary.com, 2019:1). This study encapsulated a qualitative research methodology. Patton and Cochran (2002:2) indicate that qualitative studies are characterised by its objectives, which relay an understanding of certain facets of social life. In general, the processes used create words, instead of numbers, as the data for investigation.

Qualitative research normally intends to understand the “experiences and attitudes” of subjects that are studied, aiming to find answers regarding the ‘what, how or why’ of certain phenomena (Patton and Cochran, 2002:3). Qualitative research is fitting when the researcher needs to:

- comprehend the views of participants, or
- explore the meanings they afford to certain phenomena, or
- for observing a process in detail (Patton and Cochran, 2002:7).

Based on the above discussion the qualitative research approach was deemed appropriate and followed in this study.

1.7.1 The research method

A complete discussion of the research method is shared in chapter 5 where it is reported that having a detailed research process is vital for attaining reliable and trustworthy data. It involves processes aimed at collecting, interpreting, analysing, and for the reporting of data in research activities or undertakings (Creswell & Clark, 2007:58; van Wyk, 2012:4). In chapter 5 the following processes were utilised to gather data:

- the research approach,
- the research design, data sources,
- the data collection method,
- it's population, the sample involved and sampling procedures,
- reliability and validity,
- analysis of the data,
- ethical considerations and pre-testing of the study.

In addition, the framework of the research questions used in this study was created against the backdrop of the existing theories conferred in Chapter 2.

1.7.2 Data collection

Qualitative information means one will be creating data that is mainly taking the shape of words and not by numbers. Individual interviews comprise some of the most common types of data collection (Patton and Cochran, 2002:11). Practically speaking, this means that qualitative methods should aim the following:

- Reproducible, meaning somebody else can use similar guidelines to create information that is the same,

- Systematic, ensuring that researchers are not merely selecting participants that support already existing notions regarding answers to the questions posed,
- Credible questioning, for example, the manner in which they are presented need to be reasonable for creating sound ('truthful') explanations of the phenomena, as well as
- Transparent, meaning that the process needs to be documented so that a reader can understand precisely regarding the collection and analysing of the data (Patton and Cochran, 2002:11).

Data collected was directed by the usage of semi-structured, open-ended interviews and a widespread literature review affords insight into the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers as well as to establish the quality of the rehabilitative and reintegrative programmes implemented by the Department of Correctional Services towards mitigating such challenges. The in-depth interviews in this study, guided by the use of an interview schedule (Appendix B) enabled for the collection of detailed information about how the participants experienced, understood and explained their challenges relating to childcare whilst incarcerated. The interviews comprised semi-structured, one-on-one sessions with the sample population. The same questions were posed to all participants, enabling easy comparison between participants' answers. This also enabled the research to generate precise data, avoiding vagueness. Each interview lasted an average of two to two and a half hours. Interview questions and answers were grouped into themes. The theming of the data enabled for the research to ascertain patterned answers. Details regarding the method adopted in this research are more comprehensive in chapter 5.

1.7.3 Ethical Considerations

This research gained ethical approval from the university (Appendix C) and the Department of Correctional Services and abided by the ethical standards prescribed. A responsibility to minimise harm, afford privacy, extend confidentiality, obtain informed consent and the affirmation of voluntary involvement, were all addressed during the research process.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories included in this study were the Gendered Pathways Theory, the Relational Theory, and the General Strain Theory. The Gendered Pathways Theory of Daly (1992) highlights and explains distinctions in female misconduct. The Relational Theory of Covington (1998) perpetuates those females relationships are the central force behind their misconduct. The General Strain Theory of Agnew (1992) expounds that female misconduct shares a relationship with different classes of social strain such as being unable to achieve financial comforts and an inability to maintain societal goals. Interview questions in this study paid attention to incarcerated mothers relationships with her family and children, in the past and at present, her background prior to her incarceration as well as if she incurred any social strains such as financial impediments. The theories discussed describe causes for female misconduct; hence the questions presented in this study pursued reasons against female misconduct within this sample of participants.

1.9 MEANING OF KEY TERMS

1.9.1 Correctional Centre

The Department of Correctional Services is a department of the Government of South Africa which is in charge of running the correctional system of South Africa.

Louw (2013:25; 2008:13) indicates that a correctional facility (or prison) is an establishment where sentenced inmates are incarcerated with an aim of punishment, protection of society, and rehabilitation of the inmate.

1.9.2 Offender

An offender is an inmate who has been sentenced to incarceration (Dissel, 2008:1; Louw, 2013:25). Snider (2008:198) maintains that a female offender is a “woman in trouble”. She is needy and should not be punished due to the abusive characteristics and structure of her life.

1.9.3 Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation in the Department of Correctional services as defined in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) as: “Rehabilitation is the result of a process that combines the correction of offending behaviour, human development and the promotion of social responsibility and values. It is a desired outcome of processes that involve both the departmental responsibilities of Government and the social responsibilities of the nation” (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:38).

1.10 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY CHAPTERS

This research comprises 7 chapters. Each chapter pays attention to different components of the topic under study. At the inception of every chapter, an introduction to the chapter is outlined and culminates in a conclusion.

Chapter 1: Perspectives of Incarcerated Mothers Challenges:

This chapter presents the outline and the contextual framework for this study. It defines the research problem, the research question, purposes of the study,

justification of the study, the research method adopted, the research questions and research objectives. The chapter concludes with an outlining for each chapter.

Chapter 2: Female Misconduct and Incarceration: Historical Perspectives, Theoretical Frameworks, and Philosophies:

This chapter reveals insight into the histories, theories, and philosophies regarding female misconduct and female incarceration. The Gendered Pathways Theory of Kathleen Daly (1992) highlights and explains distinctions in female misconduct. The Relational Theory of Covington (1998) perpetuates that females relationships are the central force behind their misconduct and the General Strain Theory of Agnew (1992) expounds that female misconduct shares a relationship with different classes of social strain. Sentencing theories; the Just Desserts Theory (Kant, 1952), the Deterrence Theory (Bentham, 1962) and the Incapacitation Theory (Carlsmith, Darley & Robinson, 2000) is detailed to reveal the ideas and notions behind each of these forms of punishment. Bowlby's (1988) attachment theory is discussed as the theory infers that parenting behaviour is based on an individual's own experiences as parenting behaviour is biologically rooted. The chapter concludes by discussing the philosophies of incarcerated mothers, including details of their lives prior to their incarceration.

Chapter 3: International Overview of Incarcerated Mothers:

This chapter pays attention to maternal incarceration across the various continents (The United States of America, Australia, Asia, Africa, and Eurasia). The chapter pays attention to maternal incarceration statistics and challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers relating to child care. The chapter concludes with re-entry issues as experienced by incarcerated mothers.

Chapter 4: The South African Context

On a national level, this chapter attempts to match chapter 3 by addressing similar challenges as experienced in South Africa. The chapter looks into the historical development of corrections and correctional policies in South Africa. Attention has

been afforded to the Durban Westville Correctional Centre as this study has been conducted there. The chapter concludes with reintegration issues as experienced by incarcerated mothers.

Chapter 5: Research Method

This chapter denotes the research approach of this study. The study adopts a qualitative research method, using semi-structured, open-ended interviews as a source of gathering the primary information required. The chapter concludes by discussing the data collection and the shaping of the research questions based on the theoretical framework for female misconduct as discussed in chapter 2.

Chapter 6: Analysis and Discussion of the Research Findings

This chapter discusses the results of the study and draws parallels against challenges as experienced across the various continents. Themes are grouped and analysed in relation to what is reported in existent literature.

Chapter 7: Findings and Recommendations

This chapter pays attention to the findings and recommendations of the study. Where like or comparable recommendations have emerged from previous studies or certain strategies already adopted across the various continents, they have been noted against each recommendation made.

1.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter information was offered on the background of the research, the research problem, the research questions, aim and objectives of the research, justification for and significance of the research, the research methodology used including ethical considerations, the theoretical framework which guided the study as well as an outline of the ensuing chapters. Seeing that gaps exist regarding challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers, the study's general aim is to

bridge some of the existing gaps by creating added information on challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers.

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CHAPTER TWO

FEMALE MISCONDUCT AND INCARCERATION: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS, AND PHILOSOPHIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to establish and identify challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers, it is imperative to first understand female incarceration as the female gender and the typology of mothers are embedded with each other. In other words, a mother's biological makeup is that of being a female. Females are incarcerated throughout the world and although females are a smaller group of the incarcerated population (Wahidin, 2002:1; Easterling 2012:6; Townhead, 2006:5), most female inmates have children (Stanley & Byrne, 2000:1; Luyt, 2008:311; Haffejee, Vetten & Greyling, 2006:3; Townhead, 2006:5). Based on the findings of such research, this chapter aims to explain the historical perspectives, theoretical frameworks and philosophies regarding female misconduct which openly converts to a mother's misconduct. This transgression ultimately concludes in a mother's incarceration that creates a division between the incarcerated mother and her children (Daly, 1992:46; Bloom, Owen & Covington, 2003:49). This division results in a vast array of challenges she sustains whilst incarcerated due to the separation from her children (Luyt, 2008:321; Haffejee *et al*, 2006:2; Easterling, 2012:2).

The first part of the chapter concentrates on histories regarding female misconduct. Attention will be afforded to the schools of thought regarding historical perspectives on female crime, as well as the development of female incarceration. The second part of the chapter pertains to theories that specifically attempt to provide an understanding for female crime, an understanding for sentences inflicted, and a better understanding of parenting behaviour, specifically concerning mothers involved in crime. The chapter concludes with the way of life for incarcerated mothers prior to and during her incarceration.

2.2 HISTORICAL INSIGHTS ON FEMALE MISCONDUCT AND FEMALE INCARCERATION

With the aim of understanding and grasping the history of female incarceration, it is essential to firstly offer insight into the histories of female misconduct as put forward during the various periods.

2.2.1 Schools of Thought

Two major schools of thought have been identified (Gora, 1982:3; Bloom *et al*, 2003:51) to provide historical clarifications of female criminality. The initial school, having traditionally inclined thoughts, was established in the compositions of researchers passing through a time of over 60 years, beginning from the early 1900s. Such works of Freud, Lombroso, Konopka, Pollak, and Thomas reside with this traditional school of thought. This school attributed that female misconduct was mainly entrenched in emotional and physical issues. Psychological factors were attributed to this school of thought as well. The other school of thought is that of sex role theorists looking at cultural and social perspectives as pertinent in explaining female misconduct (Gora, 1982:8)

2.2.2 The Traditional Way of Thinking

The last part of the 19th century declared research into the reasons for female misconduct. The work of Cesare Lombroso, *The Female Offender* (1895), was viewed as the primary undertaking at composing and compiling literature on females and their wrongdoing. Lombroso's thoughts were fuelled on the basis and premise of evolution (Cordella & Siegel, 1996:7; Zedner, 1991:324; Schram & Tibbetts, 2013:296).

Lombroso maintained that wrongdoers are shaped due to their disappointment, discontentment, and powerlessness to progress using similar methods as law-

abiding people. This inability and failure to develop as law-abiding results in atavism (Zedner, 1991:339). Dastille (2011:289) and Zedner (1991:339) points to Lombroso's view as being that atavism takes place when human qualities appear after several periods of nonappearance. Lombroso's argument was that atavism is rooted in females' misconduct and developed out of primitiveness. Lombroso's outlook hinged on that wrongdoers are rougher than law abiders and they dangle on the bottom of life's ranking when weighed against law abiders.

Smart (1977:32) mentions that Lombroso's notion on female wrongdoing was that females possessed lower and inferior levels than male offenders and should be viewed as "born criminals" and in certain instances as monsters. Smart further notes that Lombroso viewed that in female wrongdoers, common and ordinary female qualities are substituted with forceful passions and erotic propensities, muscular power and are very largely inclined to comprehend and carry out evil deeds. Klein (1976:62); Zedner (1991:339) and Schram & Tibbetts, (2013:296), notes that Lombroso's contention further emphasised that female wrongdoing was based on females' physical makings and traits. Lombroso's supposition was those female offenders who had accompanying attributes such as having bigger cheekbones, larger jaw bones, were hairy and had moles, had coarse voices, was abnormally strong and had abnormal teeth was innately born with criminal intentions. Lombroso's view was that such qualities and attributes were masculine features and, as a result, they need not be present in a female makeup. Lombroso felt that females are required to be "delicate" in their character. Lombroso's view was that nonconformity to these norms symbolised innate criminal inclinations in women.

Lombroso's study established the framework for William Isaac Thomas's work (Gora, 1982:4). Emotional, social and psychological causes were incorporated by Thomas into Lombroso's view on female misconduct. In Thomas's work, *Unadjusted Girl*, he viewed wrongdoing committed by females as an outcome to particular social conditions. Thomas emphasised the connection between social

conditions and peoples conduct (Gora, 1982:4; Schram & Tibbetts, 2013:297). Gora (1982:4) notes that Thomas indicated people's conducts are subject to the circumstances which prevail. The reasoning of Thomas was similar to the principles for the future development of "symbolic interactionism" for Thomas believed that the conventional world was encountering social complications. Thomas maintained that social controls in the lives of females had weakened, which resulted in female wrongdoing (Klein, 1976:59; Schram & Tibbetts, 2013:297). Gora (1982:4) and Schram & Tibbetts (2013:297) attribute Thomas's reasoning for female wrongdoing as a result of females seeking excitement, adventure and attention.

The association and relationship shared among a human's physique and culpability was further recognised by Sigmund Freud. Klein (1976:61); Gora (1982:5) and Schram & Tibbetts (2013:297) expand and talk about Freud's work; that he built up the connection amongst emotional characteristics, biological attributes, social conditions, and wrongdoing. Freud (Klein, 1976:61; Gora, 1982:5; Schram & Tibbetts, 2013:297) sets great importance on individual's socialisation, challenging that the socialisation processes were a significant element in determining if a person turned into an offender or not. It was explained by Freud that socialisation processes develop a balance amongst the desires and what drives people. Insufficient and inadequate socialisation undermined this balance and this brought about wrongdoing or antisocial attributes. Freud utilised therapy to follow the cause of female misconduct as stemming from suffering in her early years of life. He cited reasoning for female wrongdoing to sexual inconsistencies in their misconduct. Freud likens this as being "penis envy". This theory discloses and reveals that females are stimulated fundamentally by the fact that they are not male by gender. This produced destructive and damaging feelings that brought about female misconduct especially by those females who were incapable of lessening those negative emotions through socialisation. This "need" in the female make up, pressed on them the need to be likened as a man. As a consequence, females

engaged in wrongdoing or misconduct. Fundamental to Freud's view is essentially the idea and proposition that wrongdoing is likened to be the territory for men.

Pollak (1950) (Gora, 1982:5; Schram & Tibbetts, 2013:297), in *The Criminality of Women*, established huge significance to the topic of female misconduct. Pollak's views (Gora, 1982:5; Schram & Tibbetts, 2013:298) further developed the physical or physiological account as reasoning for female misconduct as Lombroso suggested. Pollak maintained female misconduct is "hidden and sexually inspired". Further, he regarded that the natural phases in the life of females and their misconduct as being associated. Pollak contended that such natural stages, for example, female's menstrual cycle, pregnancy, and menopause, impact additionally on female misconduct in light of the fact that such circumstances compromises on females' inhibitions. If Pollak's theory was significant, there would have been high records of female misconduct from the past to the present. Pollak was, nonetheless, brisk to call attention to his reasoning behind the low misconduct rate of females when contrasted with men. Pollak (Klein, 1976:73-75; Gora, 1982:6) believed that females were not represented within crime figures because females were occupied with traditional roles, for example, nursing, teaching, and home rearing and that these roles camouflaged their misconduct. Pollak trusted that roles like these gave great cover for female wrongdoing and this was the reason why females dominated such roles. Pollak had not considered that such roles were preferred by females as male dominance spanned across the different eras. He should have considered that females took up such roles due to this male dominance as females were expected to take on such roles.

Combined with the types of roles associated with females, Pollak (Klein, 1976:74) further iterated that those females were masters at "deceit and concealment". Klein (1976:74) and Schram & Tibbetts (2013:297) notes that Pollak viewed such qualities as being embedded in a female's genetic make-up and was intensified by the cover of their menstrual cycle and their "faking of orgasms". Should Pollak's dispute that females' concealing their misconduct were valid, then women would

remain bound to their “traditional roles” and steer clear from newer and up-to-date roles as those roles empower women to keep a cover on their misconduct. Additionally, the quantity of misconducts carried out by women has increased. (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1998:10).

A further view (Cordella & Siegel, 1996:346) is directed at the greater freedom that women seem to now have in roles that were male-dominated. This is seen as a factor that contributes to female offending. A theorist who opted for this view is Adler, a female philosopher who reviewed in her research of offending women. Adler noticed increasing numbers of women joining the working sector from the mid-1970s whom were largely liable against the growing number of women responsible for misconduct (Adler & Adler, 1975:219; Dastille, 2011:290; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988:511; Armentrout, 2004:18; Zedner, 1991:324).

Gora (1982:7) and Krittchnitt & Johnson (1984:103) describe Konopka’s theory which was primarily based on emotional and physical elements and its relationship with female crime. Different from Pollak’s view, who viewed sexual stimulation as the essential component and element of female wrongdoing, Konopka recognised emotional elements as the reason for women offending. Konopka additionally construed that young females have larger emotive and sensitive needs when compared to young men and that the absence of such needs encourages and inspires the misconduct in young females.

Although some of the viewpoints and beliefs of the historians cited above may be regarded as out-of-date and extreme, they do highlight the history of the different schools of thought for female misconduct at that time. Another outlook, that of the sex role theory and its connection to female misconduct will be further reviewed.

2.2.3 Gender Role Concepts

Different to writings of the traditional way of thinking, the gender role scholars maintained that socialisation processes, as well as the gender roles of women, is critical indicators for their misconduct. In the late 1950s, Reckless (Gora: 1982:9) viewed this principle as building a basis for interpreting and understanding crime statistics or crime data. Gora (1982:9) maintains that Reckless drew attention to both the conduct of men and women, inclusive of their misconduct. He indicated that the social roles for men and women are created by their psychology, biology and social positions (Gora, 1982:9).

Gora (1982:9) further reveals insights of Ivan Nye who concluded that misconduct “is both natural and normal” and that conduct which complies with society’s standards is contrary to misconduct and “unnatural”. Nye (Gora, 1982:9) viewed that law-abiding conduct was consequential of dual controls, “internal controls and direct controls”. The first sets of controls are gained by people via socialisations from the primary years of one’s life whilst the second set of controls is forced on people by their environment and the society from which they live in. He contained young females encounter direct controls, especially from their homes and family, when contrasted with young men. As a result, young females are commonly less criminal than young men. Nye believed that a decrease in direct controls that are enforced on young females would advance to misconduct.

Gora (1982:11) further notes the work of Hoffman-Bustamante who developed a “sociological” clarification for breaking down misconduct by women by suggesting that misconduct in females is rooted by 5 variables or elements. They are:

- different role anticipations for both male and female,
- gender disparities regarding socialising structures and the usage of social controls,
- structural disparities available against committing specific crimes,
- access to or deriving out of a criminal background, as well as

- the gender disparities innate within different crime classifications.

Hoffman-Bustamante (Gora, 1982:11) points to distinctions amongst males and females arrests and distinctions within their “social controls and socialisation” processes. He additionally maintains that these roles assist people by means of skillsets often utilised to commit misconduct. Such sex roles similarly prescribe the different kinds and methods of misconduct conducted by the different sexes. Adler (Dastille, 2011:290) resides with this school of thought as well. She contends that female wrongdoings have been sped up by having greater opportunities to offend and due to the gender role of females.

Gora's categories (1982:4-11) relating to the different perspectives by various scholars regarding the traditional way of thinking and the sex role way of thinking have garnered insight into the various thoughts by which scholars have outlined the causes of misconduct in females. Essentially, the traditional thinking scholars believed that the reasons for misconduct in females might be clarified by utilising, emotional, psychological and social conditions, whilst the sex role thinking alludes to a view that the gendered roles of women are important for the comprehension and reasoning of misconduct in females.

These insights offered reside with the historical ideas on female misconduct. The views outlined may be out of date. However, this is what it was during that period. Further insight will be offered on the historical development of female incarceration and how this system of corrections came into effect. Misconduct is a product of human behaviour and warrants a need for a system of corrections.

2.3 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FEMALE INCARCERATION

Initially, female wrongdoers were kept in a separate section of the male correctional facility. These sections had terrible living conditions with extreme use of solitary confinement in addition to substantial acts of physical and sexual abuse.

Females incarcerated for serious crimes served their sentences besides men at the male central correctional facilities. Abuse was meted out by other male offenders and male correctional officers. At a state correctional facility in New York, female wrongdoers were kept together in the attic (Freedman, 1981:15; Rafter, 1985:10). Female wrongdoers received their meals from male offenders which caused many prison-related pregnancies. In 1825, a pregnant female wrongdoers' death, that of Rachel Welch, caused by a terrible beating from a male guard, created changes for female wrongdoers because of the public uproar's in the way that these females were being kept in Auburn.

Overcrowding and a lack of rehabilitation interest persisted. A prison chaplain said the following of Auburn; "to be a male convict in this prison would be tolerable; but to be a female convict, for any protracted period, would be worse than death" (Freedman, 1981:16). A matron was hired in 1932 for female offenders however their plight continued. They continued to endure no protection from one another and the strains of overcrowding, together with airless spaces heightened their problems (Rafter, 1985:6). The matron received her command and provisions from the superior of the male prison. These male prisons received the most attention and funds, hence female wrongdoers were further ignored (Rafter, 1985:93).

By the mid-19th Century, female wrongdoers were growing in their population. It had become evident and apparent that these females required a separate section of their own. In 1839, a facility was created for female offenders called the Mount Pleasant Prison Annex located in New York. This was situated on the surroundings of a male correctional centre (Rafter, 1985:6). Regardless of the intent to eradicate the abuse experienced by the female wrongdoers, these females continued to endure harsh levels of punishment and abuse from the male correctional officers. Female wrongdoers continued to grow in size. When their sections were fully outgrown, states erected female departments mostly across the street or a mile or two away from the male correctional centre. This witnessed the creation of custodial facilities for women. These units were synonymous with

inmate neglect and receiving inferior care from the prison personnel. Personnel only visited the female department in case of emergencies. These structures had no place for females to exercise, the structures were economised hence overcrowding had become a major issue. Many of these buildings reached very poor conditions with rain leaking through damaged roofs, whilst the heating and plumbing mechanisms failed to perform (Rafter, 1985:6).

These unbearable conditions encouraged moral activists and crusaders in the United States and England to humanise the living conditions of female wrongdoers. From the United Kingdom, Elizabeth Fry became a central figure to assist in this plight (Freedman, 1981:23; Rafter, 1985:15; Zedner, 1991:324). Fry (Freedman, 1981:23; Rafter, 1985:15; Zedner, 1991:324) maintained that female offenders were capable of reformation and for the community to assist female wrongdoers who had become prey to criminal lifestyles. Other reformers like Fry, during the early nineteenth century, came from middle to upper-income communities that encompassed and comprised religious backgrounds. These reformers called for changes in prison structures, for enough and adequate care for incarcerated females, as females contained a milder and more sensitive nature which required a calmer environment (Freedman, 1981:23; Rafter, 1985:15). Fry argued that separate facilities for females would allow for the classification of females into categories by age and offence, merely than simply by sex and would facilitate instruction and training in feminine interests (Freedman, 1981:47). Therefore, substantial changes were noticed for female wrongdoers which included the creation of separate correctional facilities for females.

From the late 19th Century into the 20th Century, two separate models of incarceration came into effect, that of custodial establishments and reformatories. The intention of the reformatory was to re-educate and reform female wrongdoers. In the United States of America, the terms felony and misdemeanour are used. Online articles posted by law firms, the McClenahan Law Firm and Fanney Law Office define a felony as more serious and may endure larger penal consequences

whilst a misdemeanour is related to petty offending (McClenahan, 2018; Fanney, 2018). The ideal reformatory took in young, potentially redeemable females who committed misdemeanours or who had been victims of difficult circumstances and committed petty crimes (Freedman, 1981:78; Rafter, 1985:49). These female wrongdoers were released once they were deemed to have been reformed. Many of these reformatories were mainly managed by females; as a result abuse by male guards had been on the decline.

Custodial institutions were very similar to that of the male correctional settings. Little treatment was afforded to the offenders. Here the crime categories varied from a felony, property related crime, and violent crimes. Where reformatories and custodial centres were both available, the circulation of offenders was extracted against racial classes. Reformatories primarily kept white female wrongdoers and the custodial prisons kept black women who were deemed at having minimal or lesser rehabilitation prospects (Freedman, 1981:148). Females who were black were directed to work on farms as well which were owned by the state and this was likened to the days of slavery in the South. In both the custodial prisons and the reformatories, females encountered conditions that were as unpleasant as that of men. Gender discrimination began before these women were incarcerated because they were convicted for behaviour condoned in men.

By 1935, the reformatory system had declined. It attained its goal of reform, seeing that acts like prostitution had decreased. However, the new administrators of these systems had not had the same enthusiasm and missionary spirit as its founders had. The great depression came into being and States could no longer afford such institutions for petty offenders. States which had two penal units, that of custodial and reformatory, decided to close the former and sent its occupants to the reformatories. Hence, the once standing reformatories came to be similar to the male prisons whose population makeup was of that of serious offenders (Rafter, 1985:82; Freedman, 1981:109). Although typically managed by females, these new institutions abandoned most of the caring and kind traits of the previous female

reformatories. Sympathy, understanding and compassion of the fallen women fell, as even female reformers such as Martha Falconer necessitated their work as a means to “protect our men against prostitutes” (Freedman, 1981:147).

Earlier reformers concentrated on the individual (Freedman, 1981:156). They sought to uplift the fallen women and make the correctional facility more rehabilitative prone. Progressive reformers associated with social services to prevent deviancy whilst the contemporary reformer seeks to reduce the incarceration of females i.e., the legalisation of victimless criminal acts like drug usage and prostitution being the reason why many females are incarcerated.

The following part of the chapter concentrates on the theoretical framework which explains female misconduct, sentencing strategies and parenting behaviour.

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: EXPLAINING FEMALE MISCONDUCT, SENTENCING STRATEGIES AND PARENTING BEHAVIOUR

Theoretical frameworks assist to understand, describe and explain behaviour. The following theories were selected to signify a well-rounded theoretical framework which highlights female misconduct, sentencing strategies and parenting behaviour.

2.4.1 Theory Analysis On Female Crime

The following theories are discussed; the Gendered Pathways Theory (Daly, 1992), the Relational Theory (Covington, 1998), and the General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992).

Creating projects for females within the correctional context requires a sensitive approach and a theoretical input of the background that comprises female wrongdoing. Females engage in misconduct lesser than men, “the gender ratio

problem” and their entry into the criminal sphere have a tendency to be totally different (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988:508). The emphasis then points to the framework of the wrongdoing, as opposed to the quantitative statistics. Understanding the variances between male and female offending is necessary for working towards the rehabilitation of both males and females.

2.4.1.1 Gendered Pathways Theory

A dominating theory in female misconduct belongs to Kathleen Daly (1992). Her study on female’s pathways to crime is important in this study since it highlights and clarifies gender differences for wrongdoing and outlines distinctions within females. Daly (1992:23) used a 40 female participant sample to accentuate the survival mechanisms seen in most female wrongdoers. This study merits consideration as it’s emphasised to be important against gender-related studies (Bloom *et al*, 2003:54). Five pathways were shaped by Daly (1992:27-29) on why females commit crime. She refers to them as “theories of lawbreaking”. Each is now highlighted below:

Battered Women: Females who are ill-treated and neglected by their intimate relationship partners, however, who are not likely to have conducted misconduct prior to them being abused. This wrongdoing transpires or ensues post abuse and is aligned towards a survival and coping mechanism.

Drug Connected Women: Females who are on substance abuse might be coerced by their relationship partners or relations to sell drugs.

Economic Offending: These females could be placed into two categories – The 1st group being poor females committing misconduct in aid of survival, and the 2nd group being females who commit misconduct as a result of social desire and greed. The 2nd group may have no past relating to matters of violence, abuse or even drug use.

Harmed and Harming Women: Serious and severe abuse in their primary years, which included either physical or sexual, or even neglect causes females to engage in a lifetime of misconduct.

Street Women: This emphasises that ladies or young ladies trying to avoid abuse and maltreatment come into street life. The misconduct that follows is substance abuse, property violations or prostitution.

The bulk of the pathways highlighted are brought on by a need to survive. A large part of females endure “abuse and trauma”. This creates them a completely different group from men (Bloom *et al*, 2003:60). Female wrongdoers and the reality of their experiences are defined by these pathways.

2.4.1.2 The Relational Theory

This theory makes evident that the nature of a female’s relationship shared with others is regularly a strong point regarding her misconduct (Bloom *et al*, 2003:55). This theory is grounded in the discipline of psychology and pays attention to the distinctions of offending between the different sexes. Toward a New Psychology of Women, a book by Jean Baker (1976) echoes the necessary incentive for a female’s improvement is aptly her association and relationship with other people. In extension on this study, theorists in the sphere of relational study have produced three noteworthy conceptions; pathways to growth, peoples relationships, and cultural context (Kaplan 1984:1). Each recognises an essential component in a female’s improvement. The first, pathways to growth, illustrates the significance females place on relationships and associations which are worthy and this can encourage and inculcate a sound and healthy development of her identity (Kaplan, 1984:5; Covington, 1998:5). Nevertheless, outcomes can be either positive or adverse. Females that create constructive and encouraging connections for themselves will be not as much inclined to commit misconduct with keeping in mind that it is important to maintain these relationships and associations. However, the

adverse is applicable for many females who offend. The second, being relationships, and what significance such associations have on a females improvement and development. The third, cultural context being her social settings, her background and environment indicate the significance of what social conditions are prevalent in which females are reared in (Covington, 1998:5).

Understanding the elements of the relational theory assists in shaping a comprehension for misconduct amongst females and how it is different from that of males. Seeing that females are more receptive to relationships, their pathways into misconduct frequently rotate on negative relationships, such as having partners that are violent and abusive. Likewise, it could emanate due to an absence of relations, by the death of a significant other or enduring abuse from an early age (Covington, 1998:7). By 1990, Miller (Miller, 1988:2; Covington, 1998:8) created the phrase “condemned isolation”. Such a phrase alludes to circumstances or incidents where females feel that she has caused issues within her significant relationships. These inner adverse and damaging feelings and emotions could frequently prompt substance abuse and other misconduct (Covington, 1998:5). Relational theory offers a system of understanding the significance of relationships. How it creates misconduct or its ability to counteract it. Correctional centres can often worsen, impair and heighten that issue by isolating and separating females from their children in a way that sustains and continues harm and destruction which were successfully developed by hostile social conditions (Covington, 1998:7).

2.4.1.3 The General Strain Theory

The General Strain Theory of Agnew (1992) helps to describe and clarify the nature and intricacy of female misconduct. The general strain theory is an added comprehensive extension of the Strain Theory of Merton (1938) as it verifies and corroborates that misconduct shares an association with a few classes of social strain. Merton believed misconduct originates and stems from the powerlessness

and inability to achieve and maintain societal goals, like financial satisfaction (Agnew, 1992:50). Agnew's (1992:66) thoughts were more extensive that incorporated cognitive, behavioural and emotional reasons for strain development. In the subsequent study of Broidy & Agnew (1997), further research was conducted to explore how the General Strain Theory described the variances in misconduct for both males and females. Regarding female misconduct, Broidy & Agnew, (1997:288) concludes that deviancy and societal goals share a relationship. Abuse and troubled relationships are major contributors of strain for an offending female (Broidy & Agnew, 1997:289).

Female hurt and harm in different social fields may play an imperative part in the accumulation of strain, and also misconduct (Broidy & Agnew, 1997:289). The following kinds of strain that are specifically noted to female wrongdoing are:

- the failure to attain monetary and relationship happiness

This category of strain relates to female's desiring financial freedom and relationship security. There is an increasing concern regarding finances. Achieving such desires is an issue for offending females. Being unable to achieve financial freedom indicates defeat. Females yearn for this closeness in their intimate relationships. Factors such as abuse and divorce hinder such connections, resulting in strain for female offenders (Broidy & Agnew, 1997:289),

- the disappointment derived when treated unjustly by other people

This category of strain relates to female's wanting to be accepted and treated in a fair way. This includes their relations with families, intimate partners, and people in their work environment. Females desire close interpersonal relations with others and when this is not achieved, they become disappointed and stressed (Broidy & Agnew, 1997:288-289),

- the loss of positive connections and relationships to others

This category of strain relates to female's who lose their family and friends. Losses can take the form of death, moving away, and losing their intimate partners either through a separation or getting divorced. Females experiencing this high strain are more likely to commit a crime (Broidy & Agnew, 1997:291-292),

- The availability of adverse stimuli

This category of strain relates to female's enduring various abuses, such as sexual, physical and emotional abuses. Further, females endure negative treatment. Abuses are meted out by her family and intimate partners (Broidy & Agnew, 1997:293).

- strains regularly tied with "pink collar" professions coupled with the domesticity of being a housewife

This category of strain relates to females who are in "pink collar" professions receiving minimal pay. There are discrepancies in their wage when compared to men and many females head households and borderline on poverty. Further females have a disproportionate share of household chores, tending to all the needs of her husband and children, having no or little time to see to their needs, even when they are employed full time. Such a role is riddled with tedium, being demanding, demeaning and restrictive. This financial stress, gender discrimination, and monotony at home have been indicated as being factors contributing to crime (Broidy & Agnew, 1997:291).

Broidy and Agnew (1997:280) reveal that the strain men are met with indicates violence and seriousness, whilst a female's misconduct is revealed via their internal anguish and oppressions which they experience. Broidy & Agnew (1997:289) conclude that females are susceptible and prone to disguise and mask their strain, by carrying out nonviolent misconduct like partaking in substance abuse. This, in turn, can spurn property crimes to contribute in support of their addictions.

The strain of being allocated as a minority rears itself in a different criminal trend, against individuals associated with more privilege and benefit, which clarifies the distinction between men and females, even when being incarcerated (Mauer, Potler, & Wolf, 1999:4). Their study was conducted in the United States of America, concentrated on the impacts of the policy on the war on drugs against females. It was established that there was a 32% rise in male incarceration which was ascribed to drugs, whilst 49% was attributed to female incarceration (Mauer *et al*, 1999:2). Despite the fact that drug use is significant for men and females, the situation and circumstances of female's lives edge them to negative behaviours differently from that of men. Based on her social standing within society, females frequently battle on the edge of financial security and freedom. This indicates less access to honest approaches to attain money, in addition to coping with the strain (Mauer *et al*, 1999:19).

The traditional and general strain theories support this idea, females engage in lesser misconduct than men. However, with strategy changing regarding regulations and implications around drug and substance abuse, more females are starting to feel the negative impacts and consequences of being criminally labelled and being distanced from their children. Additionally, this implied a move of focus from treatment to retribution (Bloom *et al*, 2003:62; Bush-Baskette, 1999:225). For the structures of criminal justice, substance abuse turned into more of an issue regarding females. Females are mostly associated with low-level selling of drugs and drug use as opposed to committing violent offenses (Bush-Baskette 1999:220).

The above section communicated the various elements of female misconduct. When such misconduct is detected, it attains punishment. Hence this research will further highlight the various sentencing strategies which ultimately lead to many females who are mothers, being incarcerated.

2.5 SENTENCING THEORIES

Sentencing theories support and rationalise the usage of punishment by the Government for achieving societal order. The just deserts theory, the deterrence theory, and the incapacitation theory will be discussed.

2.5.1 Just Deserts Theory

When misconduct is perpetrated, there is a need to punish the wrongdoer. Certain scholars believe that punishment is effected to wrongdoers for their crimes committed and that the punishment is an end to the crime itself. This is the deservingness model and denoted as the just desert theory. Kant (1952:397) maintained punishment should not be for merely upholding good, but rather equivalent to a wrongdoers “internal wickedness”. Punishment is effected against the misconduct committed and does not concentrate on future conduct, its belief remains and resides with making right a wrong. Kant supposed that this “internal wickedness” could be quantified and measured against society’s moral outrage against the crime perpetrated (Kant, 1952:397; Carlsmith, 2008:120).

Society’s indignation coupled with the degree of punishment guided by this theory of punishment takes into account various elements, such as the amount of harm caused together with the extenuating circumstances which prevailed. The amount of harm is categorised by the category of crime committed such as assault and theft and how it impacts society. Research (Darley, Sanderson & LaMantia, 1996; Warr, Meier, & Erikson, 1983) highlights the extensive agreement regarding the various types of crimes and its severity and how people perceive them.

Extenuating circumstances is where the degree of punishment is addressed and assessed. A wrongdoer who smuggles to maintain a fancy lifestyle is judged more severely than a wrongdoer who smuggles and uses the same amount for noble purposes. In this case the harm is the same; however, the punishment is not

(Darley, Carlsmith & Robinson, 2002:285). Remorse is connected to the different reasoning's of punishment; therefore it does not exclusively tell apart motives from each other. The just deserts theory is set apart or differentiated from the utilitarian theory due to the elements of the amount of harm caused and the extenuating circumstances that prevailed (Darley *et al*, 2002:285).

2.5.2 The Deterrence Theory

The deterrence theory echoes that a reason for punishment is to discourage reoffending, where future harm and future offending is minimised (Darley *et al*, 2002:285; Carlsmith, 2008:120). This is noted as the utilitarian theory as well as the consequentialist theory. Bentham (1962:396) maintained "that general prevention ought to be the chief end of punishment, as it is its real justification". He further maintained, if the "apparent magnitude or value of the pleasure or good he expects to be the consequence of the act, he will be absolutely prevented from performing it". Various mechanisms have been created to persuade all people from preventing or committing a crime. These mechanisms include incarceration, corporal punishment, and fines (Bentham, 1962:396; Carlsmith, Darley & Robinson, 2000:660; Carlsmith, 2008:120).

The unique factors or elements of the deterrence theory are detection and publicity. Misconduct that is not easily discovered requires more severe punishments in cases of detection. Misconduct committed that is easily detected requires no intense or severe punishment. In such a case, the expected punishment is the actual punishment inflicted. Publicity hinges on the realm that when a wrongdoer is apprehended, it would be desirable to deter others from misconduct. Therefore, in the hope of deterring future criminals, wrongdoers are punished openly and harshly. The idea or notion is that punishment should not be equal to the harm inflicted but relies more so on the publicity it would create (Darley *et al*, 2002:285).

2.5.3 Incapacitation Theory

Incapacitation is a further utilitarian theory used for describing the reduction of future crime. The theory lies on the premise of explaining and rationalising aspects of crime. This places restrictions on a person from committing future crimes. When people are incarcerated they are unable to commit crime due to being locked up. They're unable to perpetrate any more crimes for the period of their incarceration aside from inmates and correctional officers. A great level of drive and enthusiasm against these laws possibly arises from the application of this method, normally referred to as the incapacitation perspective (Carlsmith *et al*, 2000:660). A deterrence standpoint roots for severe and harsh punishments whilst a just deserts viewpoint calls for punishments that are equal to the crime committed (Darley *et al*, 2002:286).

The incapacitation model seems to be a popular choice of conferring punishment against misconduct. The lawmakers primarily consider this model in an attempt to rationalise the curbing of re-offending (Carlsmith *et al*, 2000:660). When mothers are incarcerated, they are taken away from their homes, families, and children. The lawmakers need to be mindful of the needs of maternal rearing and have a deeper understanding of the roots of parenting behaviour. For the most part, incarcerated mothers themselves had an unstable upbringing. All they are familiar with is a negative parenting style which they emulate or follow with their own children (Kennedy, 2012:166).

2.6 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PARENT AND CHILD DIVISION

Differing theories (Shaw & Bell, 1993:493; Edmonds, 2012:7) exist regarding the effects of division amongst parents and their children. Such examples are the Social Bonding Theory, which believes that children are harmed due to their parent's incarceration as incarceration interferes with the parent and child relationship. An absence of a parent is indicative of broken bonds (Hirschi,

1969:231). The Labelling Theory contends that these children, due to societal stigma and shame, have greater chances of being convicted themselves (Cullen & Agnew, 2003:295).

These theories place great emphasis on the repercussions and ramifications that a parent's incarceration has on their children. However, incarcerated mothers endure great strains as well. When young girls grow into ladies and eventually become mothers, how is their parenting behaviour acquired? To best describe this process, Bowlby's Attachment Theory will be utilised as Bowlby (1988:1) denotes that the individual attached, and the attachment figures are both crucial elements for healthy relationships. Hence the mother and the child are both vital components to establishing harmony. Bowlby (1988:6) argues that parenting behaviour is biologically rooted and that ultimately an individual's own experience influences their parenting behaviour.

2.6.1 Bowlby's Attachment Theory

An attachment according to Bowlby (1969:194) is "a lasting psychological connectedness between human beings". Ainsworth (1979:933) concluded the central significance to attachment theory is attributed to having physical contact between a mother and her children. Bowlby (1988:1-4) maintained many people desire to have children who are happy, healthy and self-sufficient. If attained, the rewards are huge. But for those who have children and can't have these rewards, the consequences are anxiety, frustration, friction, shame, and guilt. The attachment bond is the key to successful parenting and "psychological security". Bowlby upholds that "our physical and psychological security relies on" relations and attachments to others. Healthy relationships shared between an attachment figure and an individual attached bring happiness and security. Should the relationship be under attack, anxiety, anger and jealous tendencies prevail. Grief and depression stem if the relationship is broken. According to Holmes (2001:1-2),

when this attachment bond is severed, sadness and depression sets in together with anger and anxiety should this bond be in danger.

Parental incarceration brings about separation and division between the parent and the child and this has many negative consequences. The formation of an attachment bond is like falling in love, be it between two adults or between a parent and a child (Holmes, 2001:1-2). Attachment behaviour is not confined to only children. Adolescents and adults when placed under stress display attachment behaviour. It is no surprise when mothers who are caring for her children have a great need for support and care for her as well. This kind of attachment behaviour is probably universal and must be noted as the norm (Bowlby, 1988:4).

An ethological inspired viewpoint is observing and describing behaviour patterns synonymous with parenting. Inherent in this viewpoint, is that parenting and attachment behaviours are in some sort of way programmed and developed as need be. This means that parents know when to cradle a child, to keep them warm, protected and fed. Some of them learn them through observation and interaction, from other parents or from the way their parents reared them. This modern standpoint contrasts with the older models; that of invoking instinct overemphasises the pre-programmed element whilst the other by reacting by instinct overindulges the learned element (Bowlby, 1988:5).

Bowlby (1988:6) further argues that parenting skills in people are clearly not the product of instinct, or simply of learning. Parenting behaviour has strong biological roots which accounts for the strong emotions attached to it. But the details of that behaviour is based on parents own experience of their childhood, their youth as well as experiences before and after marriage. Parenting behaviour falls into the class of a biologically rooted type of behaviour, as is associated with attachment bonds.

Incarcerated mothers are not exempt from this theory. Studies of incarcerated mothers reveal their argumentative, confrontational and conflict riddled families in which they were brought up in and a large number of incarcerated mothers have

denoted experiences of emotional, physical and sexual abuse whilst they were children or adults (Clark, 1995:314). Incarcerated mothers grew up with anger, violence, yelling and hurting. They endured fear and terror and felt it safer being on the streets than having a life with their families (McQuaide, 1998:240). As a result of such consequences during different periods of their lives, incarcerated mothers will also develop notions of motherhood based on their own experiences.

Steedman (1986:86), a historian reveals that a mother's real life's experiences determine her notions of motherhood. Steedman grew up in a working-class home in the 1950s. Her mother had financial problems and her father was mostly absent. This had made her mother become bitter and frustrated with being a mother. Here it can be deduced that Steedman's mother developed a notion of motherhood based on her own personal experiences.

It could be conferred that an incarcerated mother's relationship with her families and children will be greatly influenced by her own experiences based on Bowlby's attachment theory. Most incarcerated mothers' experiences would generate negative parenting behaviour. They have a negative notion or concept of motherhood and were most likely condemned even before becoming mothers themselves.

Daly's pathways to crime attribute female misconduct to the abuse that females endure, to their financial survival and to fleeing from abusive homesteads. The relational theory offers a system of comprehension for the significance of relationships within a female's life. It can be either pleasant or harmful depending on the type of relationships she engages in. All of these factors lead to misconduct due to the strain she endures as a result of her experiences. For the most part, incarcerated mothers experience all of these factors described. Ranging from abuse to being in bad relationships and enduring economic hardships, they are not immune to such elements as studies have revealed and as a result, engage in a life of misconduct. Once convicted, the mother is sentenced resulting in her

incarceration. From challenges on the outside to enter a different set of challenges on the inside of the correctional system, it seems that the incarcerated mother has been ill-fated. Hence the next part of the chapter will create awareness into the way of life for mothers incarcerated.

2.7 A WAY OF LIFE FOR FEMALES INCARCERATED

Female incarceration and mothers incarcerated are tantamount to one another as studies have revealed that the majority of females sentenced are mothers. As a result, this section will discuss the incarceration of females as the incarceration of mothers. Further, this segment will delve into the incarceration statistics, the importance of maternal rearing and highlight some of the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers prior to their incarceration.

2.7.1 General Incarceration

All countries the world over have a huge reliance on the system of incarceration whether it be for men or women. The numbers and percentages of female incarceration have increased (McQuaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:234; Easterling, 2012:6; Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:2). The United States of America has the world's largest incarceration rate with having over 2 million of its population incarcerated (Bloom, 2012:1; Heitzig, 2009:8). Rehabilitating offenders within correctional facilities is difficult or impossible because of the unsuitability of punishment and treatment. Thus, upon release, incarcerated mothers are not necessarily rehabilitated making it difficult to return to family life (Easterling, 2012:165; Clark, 1995:312). This paragraph briefly outlays the alarming rate of the incarcerated population with females growing significantly, rehabilitation techniques being applied and incarcerated female's re-entry opportunities.

2.7.2 Maternal incarceration

Females are a minority group of inmates the world over (Wahidin, 2002:1; Easterling 2012:6; McQuaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:234). However, the majority of female inmates have children and are the sole providers for their families (Stanley & Byrne, 2000:1; Swimeley, 2008:1; Luyt, 2008:311; Law, 2014:3). It was projected in the United States, 250 000 children endured maternal incarceration (United Nations, 2008:18).

The reality is that between 70% and 80% of incarcerated women are mothers (Clark, 1995:307). Enos (2001:3) noted that 75% of incarcerated females are most likely to be mothers and that 66% of these mothers have minor children and that before being incarcerated 70% of these females had their children living with them. These figures are indicative of an international trend (United Nations, 2008:18), 87% of incarcerated females are mothers in Brazil's largest female prison. Within the Russian zone, 80% of incarcerated females are mothers whilst within the United Kingdom, 66% of females inmates are mothers, whilst in Afghanistan 78.5% of incarcerated females are mothers. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2008) reinforces such findings. More than 65 000 of the females incarcerated were mothers to minor children in 2007. Minor children affected by maternal incarceration increased by 131% in the years between 1991 and 2007. This resulted in 1.7 million children having to endure maternal incarceration. Since 1991, the amount of minors enduring maternal incarceration has exceedingly doubled (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:2).

So many loved ones across the globe are left behind whilst their mothers are incarcerated. Various factors such as drugs, poverty, unemployment and patriarchy impacts mothers incarcerated individually and thus a need for gender-specific programmes are required (Easterling, 2012:8). Programmes and provisions for mental health amenities are urgently needed as incarcerated mothers endure high

levels of stress whilst incarcerated (Poehlmann, 2005:1275; Shankardass, 2014:6; Clark, 1995:324).

Incarcerated mothers are aware that society mostly ignores and avoids their children due to their incarceration. Factors that bring about parental separations include hospitalisation, death and even divorce yet having an incarcerated parent is less likely to garner sympathy. These other types of separation bring togetherness amongst families, yet this is not the case for incarceration as this carries with it a stigma (Fritsch, Travis & Burkhead, 1981:83; Law, 2014:3; Shaw, 1992:48).

Both men and women commit crime. However, their adversities experienced whilst incarcerated are not the same. Incarcerated mothers have to contend with further angsts and distresses whilst incarcerated. Some incarcerated mothers consider a survival motive as being that of motherhood which aid by reducing destructive consequences for herself and her children (Benedict, 2009:73; Easterling, 2012:22).

Seeing that the majority of incarcerated females are mothers, it would be vital to understand the importance and consequences of maternal rearing.

2.7.3 Significance of Maternal Rearing

Maternal rearing is vital and its absence often places a family in jeopardy. Children cope with the absence of a father as it's usually a mother that cares for her children (Enos, 2001:3; Haffejee *et al*, 2006:3). Research (United Nations, 2008:17; Enos, 2001:3; Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:4) indicates that in circumstances where fathers get incarcerated, it is normally mothers who provide care and support for her children. Nevertheless, the family breaks up when mothers are incarcerated as mothers are often the primary or sole caregivers of a family (Haffejee *et al*, 2006:3; Vetten, 2008:139; Fontebo, 2013:227).

As per the Bureau of Justice statistics (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:2), 744,200 men were incarcerated that had at the very least, one minor child. Despite the high number of fathers who are incarcerated, only 26% of these fathers reported being the main caretaker for their children before being incarcerated. Whilst within the same period, there were 208000 females incarcerated of which 77% were their children's primary caregivers before being incarcerated. Researches (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:2; Fontebo, 2013:228; Vetten, 2008:139; Haffejee *et al*, 2006:3; United Nations, 2008:17) indicate that fathers are mostly absent caregivers, as it is the mother who rears her children.

The question is how well can children cope without the care and support of a mother. When mothers are incarcerated, many children lose not merely their principal caregiver, but many will be parentless as research has demonstrated that female offenders are usually single parents (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:5). In cases where fathers exist prior to the mother's incarceration, they are unlikely to take responsibility for their child's care, even as evidence suggests, where fathers are not working, (Bhana, 2001:17). Studies have indicated that when mothers are incarcerated, the disruption for children is greater than when fathers are incarcerated (Murray & Farrington, 2008:135; Caddle & Crisp, 1997:2).

Studies (Enos, 2001; Clark, 1995; Easterling, 2012) have placed emphasis on the significance of maternal rearing. The importance it carries and the negative consequences that ensue due to the separation created from the incarceration process. It would be interesting to first understand what research reveals on the way of life and background of the incarcerated mother prior to her incarceration.

2.7.4 Life before Incarceration

For the mainstream of females in correctional centres, they mostly derive from deprived backgrounds and have experienced childhood abuse, domestic abuse, neglect, separations and death of loved ones (Artz, Hoffman-Wanderer & Moulton,

2012:206). Mumola (2000:9) revealed the unemployment rate prior to imprisonment for inmate mothers as being 50%, nearly twice that of incarcerated fathers at 27%. Further research conducted in Pakistan indicates incarcerated mothers come from “abusive homes and women’s attempts to resist gender oppression, relation with criminal men or forbidden potential mates, and managing family-honour expectations” are all indicators for contributing to their crime committed (Khalid & Khan, 2013:31).

Incarcerated mothers are all too reminiscent of the argumentative, confrontational and conflict-riddled families in which they were brought up in and large numbers of incarcerated mothers have revealed past experiences of enduring emotional, physical and sexual abuse whilst they were children or adults (Clark, 1995:314). These mothers grew up with anger, violence, yelling and hurting. They endured fear and terror and felt it safer on the streets than being with the families (McQuaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:240). Incarcerated mothers face various turmoil’s such as abuse, a lack of an education and job skill sets and mental health problems, prior to being incarcerated (Imber-Black, 2008:278). Female’s in correctional settings have endured considerably greater chances of multiple cases of abuse in their childhoods, experienced abusive personal relationships and bordered on poverty and male domination outside of the correctional settings (Owen, 1998:41).

In South Africa research (Haffejee *et al*, 2006; Artz *et al*, 2012) indicates that female inmates are amongst the most socially and financially helpless group of people in society. It is clear that their backgrounds are marked by extreme violence, financial deprivation, and household disruptions. Their childhoods are scarred by dislocation often resulting from shifting from place to place, and the people who cared for them. These changes mark the end of a “happy life”. Moving home for many meant having to drop out of school (Artz *et al*, 2012:75). Haffejee *et al* (2006:2) reveal that most women (about 62% percent) came from destitute economic backgrounds. Prior to being incarcerated, a substantial amount of

incarcerated mothers remained the main breadwinners for their homes and families (Haffejee *et al*, 2006:2; Artz *et al*, 2012:37).

It is evident as indicated that incarcerated mothers have experienced a multitude of challenges prior to her incarceration. From housing issues, financial burdens, emotional and sexual abuse with their intimate partners, unemployment and disruptive childhoods riddled and marred with violence. It is not a surprise that the majority of incarcerated mothers have entered into a life-extending into misconduct which results in her incarceration. Once incarcerated, what is the way of life for her within the correctional setting? What are her challenges experienced, especially and specifically those that pertain to being a mother?

2.7.5 Life during Incarceration

Various sources (Fritsch, 1981; Ryan, 2012; Shaw, 1993) of literature are available on the international scene which explores parental incarceration. These studies mainly concentrate on the impact incarceration has on their children, however not many on the challenges experienced by the mother herself.

A mother is a mother for all intense purposes and that status cannot be altered or changed, i.e. once a woman births a child there's no reversing that experience. It's not like other occurrences in life where experiences can be changed like shifting employment or buying a house. It is believed that mothers love their offspring unconditionally with no inhibition hence it's a natural phenomenon they would become frustrated with the limited opportunities available to contact their children (Gowland, 2011:7). She's still their mother; however, she cannot effectively play a significant role in their rearing. Clark (1995:312) maintains that incarcerated mothers are treated as a delinquent child as correctional centres expect their offenders to be diminutive and submissive. The basic reality and powerlessness are very evident whilst incarcerated. Women are told when to get up, when to eat

and where to go. Correctional officers need to even open and shut their room doors (Clark, 1995:312).

Children have a considerable impact and influence on the female wrongdoer. Although the mainstream of incarcerated females is mothers, the greater parts of these females never see their children whilst they are incarcerated (Bloom *et al*, 2003:56). An incarcerated mother, as well as her child, endures an absence of associations, and this separation and division because of incarceration, can cause serious interference and interruptions in a females rehabilitation process. Stress experienced by incarcerated mothers is so penetrating, it can be likened to a “family crisis” (Easterling, 2012:107). Whilst incarcerated, mothers endure severe health conditions (Townhead, 2006:12). Further, negative behaviour and negative conduct, for example, manipulation, control, rule-breaking, and fights might be an indication of the embarrassment and humiliation that females feel about their damaged mothering roles (Hoffmann, Byrd, & Kightlinger, 2009:399). Gowland (2011:43) maintains that this absence of association with her children was regularly referred to as reasoning for returning to or reverting to crime.

Whilst incarcerated mothers in South African correctional centres have been subjected to substantial victimisation, shame, stigma, negative feelings and mental health issues, so have others in the various sections of the world, (Haffejee *et al*, 2006:4; Easterling, 2012:88). Research used will indicate a conclusion that this transpires across the globe. This study has gathered the available findings on challenges experienced due to maternal incarceration, using them as an indication to draw further thought and consideration to the challenges endured by mothers whilst incarcerated. Irrespective of their domicile, age or race, they echo similar sentiments of heartache, anguish, frustrations, and grief.

The challenges experienced will be grouped against themes as this study adopts a thematic analysis to draw parallels against the various countries by grouping or creating themes on the challenges experienced. The researcher felt it best to adopt

the strategy of creating themes as this creates for an opportunity to compare data extracted within its individual contexts. These themes create the framework for challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers and this thematic data establish answers for the research questions posed. Braun & Clarke (2006:5) refer to thematic analysis as; “through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data”.

The following themes were created to highlight the significant challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers.

- her bonding process between her and her children,
- her children and their well-being,
- her children’s caregivers in her absence,
- her depression and despair experienced,
- her support systems whilst incarcerated, as well as
- her rehabilitation that’s geared towards re-entry and socialisation.

Incarcerated mothers challenges are not limited to these themes for they endure other challenges as well like overcrowding and a lack of facilities. However, this study concentrates on specific challenges experienced, one that directly involves her and her children.

2.8 CONCLUSION

As has been described and defined, female wrongdoing and mothers incarcerated go hand in hand. One cannot discuss mothering challenges without firstly shedding light on a mother’s root, her biological makeup, that of which she is a female. Therefore this chapter revealed insight into the histories, theories, and philosophies regarding female misconduct and female incarceration. The historical points of view of female wrongdoing were talked about in light of the different researchers’ perspectives. Two sets of perspectives were discussed, that of the gender role

philosophers (Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973 & Nye, 1958) and the traditional school of beliefs (Lombroso, 1895 & Thomas, 1923). Within the histories section, details were further afforded to the historical development of female incarceration (Freedman, 1981 & Rafter, 1985). The creation of reformatories and custodial institutions were discussed and reasons as to why the reformatory system had deteriorated.

Various theories that address female crime and sentencing concepts were highlighted to clarify why females, whom for the vast majority are mothers, commit crime. The Gendered Pathways Theory (Daly, 1992), the Relational Theory (Covington, 1998), and the General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992) were highlighted to signify a well-rounded theoretical framework to expound on female misconduct. Once reasoning had been established as to why females, who are mostly mothers, commit crime, thought was adhered to the concepts regarding sentencing which ultimately results in a mother's incarceration. The Just Desserts Theory (Kant, 1952), the Deterrence Theory (Bentham, 1962) and the Incapacitation Theory (Carlsmith *et al*, 2000) were detailed to reveal the ideas and notions behind each of these forms of punishment.

Incarceration creates a division, that of an incarcerated mother from her children. As a result, it was vital to discuss parenting behaviour, whether it was learned, instinctive or biologically rooted. Bowlby's (1988) attachment theory infers that parenting behaviour is based on individuals own experiences as parenting behaviour is biologically rooted. Mothers incarcerated are not exempt from this phenomenon; they too will exhibit their notions of motherhood as based on their own life's experiences. For the majority of incarcerated mothers, their backgrounds were scarred by violence and abuse together with economic depravity (Imber-Black, 2008). For many of them, the prospect of positive parenting behaviour was already condemned even before they actually became mothers.

Finally, the chapter discussed the philosophies of incarceration on mothers. Studies (Wahidin, 2002; Luyt, 2008; Easterling, 2012) highlighting maternal incarceration were noted. With maternal incarceration comes the severance of a mother and child relationship, hence the significance of maternal rearing and its consequences were outlined (Murray & Farrington, 2008; Enos, 2001). The background of the incarcerated mother was highlighted (Artz et al, 2012; Mumola, 2000) to explain her challenges experienced prior to her incarceration concluding with the way of way for incarcerated mothers whilst within the correctional confines (Clark, 1995; Haffeejee et al, 2006) as her life whilst incarcerated is soiled and soaked with various challenges as well.

These challenges experienced relating to childcare have been grouped against themes to draw parallels when being compared to the various countries this study aims to highlight. The following chapter discusses the international scene highlighting significant challenges as experienced by the incarcerated mother.

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CHAPTER THREE

INTERNATIONAL OVERVIEW OF INCARCERATED MOTHERS

This chapter pertains to the international overview of incarcerated mothers, their challenges and anguishes experienced whilst incarcerated and an indication of struggles endured post-release.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The world constitutes different continents. They are America, Australia, Africa, Europe, Asia, and Antarctica. The intention of this chapter is to clarify and outline the various challenges and encounters experienced by incarcerated mothers across the globe. By being able to achieve such, the researcher aims to reveal that challenges experienced are not only limited to age, race, country or any specific cultural or religious group. As a result, this research review adopts a practical and sensible delivery method by engaging with various studies conducted across the world, paying specific attention to mothers incarcerated, by drawing parallels on research findings pertinent to America, Australia, Africa, Europe, and Asia.

Interesting to note is that the female inmate population has increased by 50% since the year 2000 whilst the male population grew by 18% (Walmsley, 2016:1). The female statistics have grown considerably, more than the male offending population on every continent. Statistics for female offending has increased from 5% in 2000 to about 7% on the latest data accessible (Walmsley, 2016:1), constituting a significant increase worldwide.

Challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers from the various continents will be represented. Detailed challenges will be indicated for the United States of America, as this continent is characterised as having the largest portfolio of offenders. Thereafter, the remaining continents will follow, indicating specific

studies that reveal challenges experienced on that continent by its representing countries. The participating countries or states are highlighted below. Within certain continents, literature is severely limited (Mcquaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:234; Easterling, 2012:18, Fontebo, 2013:1; Vetten, 2008:134; Artz & Rotmann, 2015:3). As a result, different countries within a specific continent have been used against the backdrop of various themes outlined. For example, in Africa studies have been used from countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Egypt, and Zimbabwe to highlight individual themes. Keeping in mind the intention of the study is to unfold the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers per continent, and not necessarily issues specific to a country. The following countries are included in the research:

- The United States of America, (Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Hawaii)
- Australia, (Western-Australia, Southern Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales)
- Asia, (China, India, and Thailand)
- Africa, (Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe)
- Eurasia, (Russia, the United Kingdom, and Ireland)

3.2 INTERNATIONAL DATA ON INCARCERATION

Prior to discussing the challenges of mothers whilst they are incarcerated, it would be insightful to offer statistical data on the inmate population the world over. This creates for an awareness of various levels; that all continents have an inmate population and that the world's inmate population is growing, more so amongst females, causing direct links to maternal incarceration (Mcquaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:234; Easterling, 2012:6; Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:2; Schoenbauer, 1986:580; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012:9; Dui Hua, 2014:2; Walmsley, 2016:14-15; Stone, 2013:3; Corrections Victoria, 2012:11). Attention will be afforded to female incarceration and its attachment to maternal incarceration across the globe.

3.2.1 General incarceration

This section pays attention to the general incarceration statistics across the continents. Added attention will be afforded to the United States of America, seeing that they are home to the largest number of offenders the world over.

3.2.1.1 The United States of America

Wagner & Rabuy (2006:1) reveal that this continent houses “1719 state prisons, 102 federal prisons, 942 juvenile correctional facilities, 3283 local jails, and 79 Indian Country jails”. According to the Effects of Parental Incarceration on Children Report (Khanzhina, 2011:3), the incarceration rate has trebled in the United States of America since the 1970s. This continent has the most offenders when compared to any other continent in the world (Raphael & Stoll, 2013:1). “The United States leads the world in the rate of incarcerating its own citizens. We imprison more of our own people than any other country on earth, including China which has four times our population” (Bloom, 2012:1).

By 1999 prisons housed over 720 000 parents who had minors as children. These incarcerated parents had around 1.5 million children, a growth of more than 500 000 since the year 1991 (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:1). Around this period there were more than 100 000 females incarcerated and an excess of one million females under the administration of criminal justice with the majority being on probation (Ryan, 2013:1; Bloom, Owen & Covington, 2003:6). Incarceration of females is at its highest in the United States of America. It's viewed that in the United States an excess of 700% of females were incarcerated compared to twenty years ago. (Ryan, 2013:1). An online article carried by the Washington Post noted that at present, the United States of America is made up of 5% of the world's populace, yet this country houses 22% of the world's inmate populace (Lee, 2015).

3.2.1.2 Australia

As of June 2012, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012:12) noted that Australia had around 23 000 incarcerated offenders citing a 1% increase since June 2011. Within this period, sentenced males had increased by 1% whilst a 5% increase was indicated for sentenced females. The highest incidence of male offending was related to offenses with intentions of causing injury whereas the highest proportion for females was connected to banned substances.

3.2.1.3 Asia

Asia has experienced various changes in its inmate population since the year 2000. Figures rose by 75% in the Middle East whilst the figures dropped by 31% in central Asia. China and India, both part of the Asian continent, have massive populations, as a result of these figures greatly impact on the overall Asian prison population. Since 2000, an 83.6% increase has been noted against the women's inmate population. Overall, women make up 5% of the Asian inmate population (Walmsley, 2016:14-15).

3.2.1.4 Africa

Incarceration in Africa is predominantly a male phenomenon as is in other continents like the United States of America, Australia along with Eurasia. Burkina Faso houses the least amount of female offenders whilst Mozambique houses the largest amount of female offenders. The incarceration rates across the African continent vary for males and females. In South Africa, fewer females are incarcerated when compared to that of males (Vetten, 2008:135).

3.2.1.5 Eurasia

Since the year 2000, Europe has witnessed an increase in its inmate population. Figures rose in Western Europe (6%), northern Europe (12%) and southern Europe (27%). Russia contains the majority of the inmate population in Eurasia (Walmsley, 2016:15).

3.3 MOTHERS BEHIND BARS – A GLOBAL ASSESSMENT

The purpose of this segment is to highlight the female incarceration statistics across the globe and a rapid rise in the female inmate population with particular mention to mothers incarcerated who were primarily accountable towards their children's upkeep prior to incarceration. A rise in the female incarceration is also indicative of a rise in the number of mothers behind bars.

3.3.1 Mothers in the United States of America

The Handbook for Prison Managers and Policymakers on Women and Imprisonment (2008), notes that in the United States of America, a quarter million children endured maternal incarceration (United Nations, 2008:18). By 2006, 300 000 minor children had incarcerated mothers who were their custodial parent prior to their mothers' incarceration (Easterling, 2012:2). As per the Bureau of Justice Statistics, by 2008, the amount of incarcerated mothers had risen alarmingly by 122% to 65 600 (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:2). Further research (Easterling, 2012:2; Swimeley, 2008:1) conducted corroborates these statistics; 75% of females incarcerated are mothers of dependent children. Incarcerated mothers have been the principal caregiver of her children prior to being incarcerated, reinforcing such findings as indicated by The Effects of Parental Incarceration on Children Report (Khanzhina, 2011:4).

Currently, females encompass bigger portions of inmate populations than ever experienced (Poehlmann, 2005:1; Easterling, 2012:2). The rise in these numbers indicates the severe and rapid increase of females being incarcerated (Ryan, 2013:1). The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report (2010:1) indicates that female incarceration numbers are significantly smaller than male incarceration numbers; however, the female growth rate has been much more intense. The growth of females incarcerated is of major concern due to females leaving behind more children than men (Schoenbauer, 1986:580).

All research referred to was conducted within the past 20 years in the United States of America with all repeating similar sentiments, firstly that the number of females incarcerated is rapidly growing in size and secondly, that the majority of incarcerated females are mothers.

3.3.2 Mothers in Australia

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012:9), reports that females make up 7% of Australia's offender populace. Although male offending is higher in Australia, a significant increase in the quantity of females incarcerated has occurred. From 2002 to 2012, the female inmate population has grown by 48% when compared to 29% for males within that decade (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012:9). This signifies that Australian female offending has risen by 21 times against their male counterparts (Stone, 2013:3). Between 2007 and 2011, Corrections Victoria witnessed a 24% increase in their female population when contrasted to a 12% increase in their male offending figures. This indicated a rise from 6% to 9% in their female statistics (Corrections Victoria, 2012:11).

The Attorney General of Australia, Jim McGinty, (Goulding, 2004:14) noted in a 2003 speech that 61% of females incarcerated in Australia are mothers. Female incarceration indicates the absence of a mother for her families concerned

(Goulding, 2004:14). Female offenders are usually their children's caretakers and less likely to have their partner rear them in her absence (Stone, 2013:3)

3.3.3 Mothers in Asia

3.3.3.1 China

China has 1.65 million sentenced offenders with more than 650 000 being held in detention centres across China (Walmsley, 2011:1). Female correctional centres are marginal in China although females make up 6% of China's incarcerated population. The last 10 years have witnessed a fast rise in female incarceration, a rate that is significantly faster than that of men (Dui Hua, 2014:2). If these figures continue to increase, China will then lead female incarceration in the world from that of the United States (Dui Hua, 2016:5). It has been noted that violent crime is not the causal factor for an increase in female incarceration in China and that the majority of females behind bars are mothers who were solely responsible for their children's upkeep before being incarcerated (Dui Hua, 2014:3). For each province, one female correctional centre exists despite the fact that females incarcerated in China are ever-increasing. Females' are incarcerated further from their homes which add to the psychological challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers as visits from her children are rare (Dui Hua, 2014:4).

3.3.3.2 India

Indian women are measured by being more holy and pious compared to men. However, recent crime trends in India indicate that female criminality is on the rise. Although figures on female offending offer insight that females offenders occupy a smaller portion of India's inmate population, growth in female offending has ensued (Parveen, 2006:13). Shankardass (2014:1-5), indicates that India has about 16000 incarcerated females and argues that although these figures are relatively lower when compared to the likes of Russia, China, and the United States, female

offenders are people first and then prisoners. Indian policymakers are complacent on penal reform. For the majority of the female offenders, family life defines them and they define family for she had many “caretaking responsibilities” prior to her incarceration. Their roles as carers towards their families and children were an integral component of their existence.

3.3.3.3 Thailand

Thailand has a high percentage of females incarcerated, who are mostly mothers. Statistics reveal that 82% of Thailand’s incarcerated females are mothers. The female inmate population in Thailand since August 2017 is 38000 and ranked fourth worldwide behind the United States, China and Russia (Kittayarak, 2015:1; Piacentini, Moran & Pallot, 2009:525).

3.3.4 Mothers in Africa

3.3.4.1 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has an inmate population of approximately 19 000 who are dispersed amongst the countries 46 prisons and close to 30 satellite facilities. The designated capacity of its correctional system is 17 000. Females incarcerated are 600 and makeup 1.8% of the prison population (Home Office, 2017:7). It has been noted that 87% of incarcerated females in Zimbabwe are mothers with the number of people being incarcerated increasing, especially from densely populated places such as Mbare. An incarcerated mother finds it challenging to sustain and retain bonds with her child as prison systems the world over make this tough. Zimbabwe is no exception to this (Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017:109). Incarcerated mothers are mostly the sole providers of income and their children’s carers prior to the incarceration (Mafume, 2014:25) The following has been noted in a B-Metro newspaper article; in 2010, the Correctional Services Commissioner of Zimbabwe, General Paradazi Zimondi lamented the harrowing conditions of the prison

infrastructure and that it was not suitable and adequate for females. Their structures are dilapidated and not female friendly to induce rehabilitation and each admin region is required to have at least one female correctional centre (Mhaka, 2016).

3.3.5 Mothers in Eurasia

3.3.5.1 Russia

The Penal Reform International Report on Russian Incarcerated Women (PRI, 2010:1) indicates that Russia's inmate population comprises 864 000 offenders that are housed in 45 prison colonies. Amongst these offenders are 69 000 females. Colonies are scattered across the Russian continent which inadvertently means that many female offenders are being kept thousands of kilometres away from their homes (PRI, 2010:1; Moran & Pallot, 2009:704; Piacentini *et al*, 2009:525). The female inmate populace contains 7% of the total Russian inmate population and has witnessed a rise of 80% since 2000.

Most of these females are mothers, being the principal caretakers and carers towards their families and children. Huge disruptions of the parent and child relationship are prudently evident due to the incarcerated mother being held so far away from home. This physical distance that separates incarcerated mothers and their children actually spans across different time zones. This distance has been labelled as "penal exile" (Piacentini *et al*, 2009:525).

3.3.5.2 The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom is no exception to the high maternal incarceration rates already mentioned. Around 61% of females incarcerated in the United Kingdom are mothers to children under 18 and 71% of these children were in their mothers care before her being incarcerated. For the majority of these children who were living

with their mothers, this was the only time they were away from each other for such a long time due to the incarceration (Caddle & Crisp, 1997:1). Incarcerated mothers endure extreme difficulty and stress regarding her children and their relationship which is riddled with changes due to her incarceration (Caddle & Crisp, 1997:4). Families break up when mothers are incarcerated as mothers are often the primary or sole caregivers of a family (United Nations, 2008:17).

3.4 CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED RELATING TO CHILD CARE DURING INCARCERATION

The literature review below extends across the various continents outlined, with a specific purpose. Its purpose is to unfold and highlight the various challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers the world over. It has been noted that studies pertaining specifically to challenges endured by incarcerated mothers across the globe are limited (Mcquaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:234; Easterling, 2012:18, Fontebo, 2013:1; Vetten, 2008:134; Artz & Rotmann, 2015:3). As a result, the researcher makes use of available literature that spans mostly over a 20 year period. Further, due to the limited nature of literature available, specific findings have been elaborated on per study conferred to. This allows for the study to be descriptive, expressive and to be able to communicate challenges experienced in-depth as the study is guided by a qualitative framework.

The life of an incarcerated mother prior to her incarceration has been riddled with chaos and mayhem. She has endured violent intimate relationships, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, fear, anger, financial difficulties, a lack of education, improper housing and financial worries (Mumola, 2000:9; Khalid & Khan, 2013:31; Clark, 1995:314; Mcquaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:240). Entering a correctional centre does not put an end to her woes. When she enters the correctional setting, her challenges, anguishes, and worries continue. The challenges incarcerated mothers experience is multi-dimensional. They include amongst others, a lack of family support, correctional support, and infrequent visits from her children, depression,

misery and concerns for her children (Clark, 1995:312; Goulding, 2004:39; Farrell, 1998:9; Easteal, 2001:88; Moran & Pallot, 2009:704; Hoffman, Byrd, & Kightlinger 2009:399; Siegel, 2011:188).

However, her main challenge endured is that of being a mother whilst incarcerated. Now she is trapped, strapped and helpless. She is a mother; nevertheless, she is unable to fulfil her role as a mother. In light of this, the following challenges regarding maternal incarceration will be expounded on. Her challenges experienced relating to childcare has been grouped into a framework of themes. Braun & Clarke (2006) describe theming as capturing vital elements regarding data connecting to the study questions posed and characterises a sort of “patterned” answer or significance and importance contained in the data sets (Braun & Clarke, 2006:10; Castleberry & Nolen, 2018:812). Once these themed challenges have been exposed, this section will be better able to demonstrate and afford insight, by drawing parallels against the countries, in order to establish common causes for challenges relating to childcare experienced by incarcerated mothers.

The following themes have been created against an incarcerated mother’s challenges experienced as they best encompass her predicaments experienced relating to childcare.

- feelings of depression and despair,
- the absence of support,
- concerns regarding their children,
- inefficiencies of substitute caring,
- limited opportunities for bonding,
- shortfalls of rehabilitation programmes offered, as well as
- challenges of re-entry.

The above themes will now be discussed in more detail

3.4.1 Feelings of depression and despair

The English dictionary refers to pain as “an unpleasant emotional experience or mental distress”. This may further mean to cause a person to hurt. Within the context of this research, an incarcerated mother endures “pain” due to her being unable to fulfil her mothering responsibilities whilst incarcerated (The Collins Paper Back English Dictionary, 1990:606).

3.4.1.1 The United States of America

Women in correctional centres live with feelings of deep guilt, against their misconduct perpetrated as well as for deserting their children (Baunach, 1985:64). Hoffmann *et al* (2009) concluded a study across all the states of America. They maintained that incarceration creates intensified anxiety, despair, sadness and on occasion, misbehaviour among offenders (Hoffman *et al*, 2009:399). A 2012 study by Easterling (2012:3) in Kentucky revealed that attempts of parenting from within a correctional centre can create various damaging mental health conditions due to incarceration. A study conducted in New York by Clark (1995) makes mention that certain positive aspects of a correctional setting such as counselling are suffused with the losses and guilt experienced by incarcerated mothers (Clark, 1995:311).

A further study by Parke & Clarke-Stewart (2001) indicates that incarcerated mothers are unable to be responsible for their child's decision making and their daily needs due to their incarceration. For an incarcerated mother, the division from her child is surely the utmost punishment the incarceration process carries (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001:2). Clark (1995:319) further details that a mother's sadness, distress, and loss regarding her children is deeper than any other loss she endures whilst incarcerated. Intensified by her feelings of guilt and suppressed fury, grief conceals into unhappiness and despair and this can compromise or threaten her delicate bonds with her children. Women cling to this dreadful

realisation that they have "blown it" which inhibits, impedes or restricts her from seeking avenues to aid her children under such circumstances.

Research conducted by Harris (2011:17) in Ohio, indicates that incarcerated mothers have lost the right to be an authority figure to their children due to no longer having custody of them. Regaining authority can still be a challenge even after regaining custody if the children still do not believe that their mother has the right to discipline them due to her previous incarceration. These mothers feel inadequate as parents. They lose their children's respect for them and are unable to maintain an authority figure over their young and older children. This causes great discomfort to the incarcerated mother (Harris, 2011:17; Brown and Bloom, 2009:325).

Incarcerated mothers experience great sadness over their children whilst they are away from her. These mothers are concerned with this separation, whether they could lose their children in the process and further as to how they are being taken care of. If mothers have different children being taken care of in different places and environments, this causes additional distress for the incarcerated mother (United Nations, 2008:19). According to the Effects of Parental Incarceration on Children Report (Khanzhina, 2011:69), incarcerated mothers are subjected to absences from their children and the stigma that comes with the psychological barriers associated with incarceration, all members of her family can suffer.

Whilst incarcerated mothers are unsure of many aspects of their lives including their release, they are mostly unsure of reunification with their children, whether they will be accepted or not or if they have been substituted by another mother. All this may enhance worrisome thoughts and feelings. This may be psychologically and physically tiring on incarcerated mothers (Easterling, 2012:64; Hairston, 1991:94).

3.4.1.2 Australia

Although incarceration limits mothers' abilities in making provisions for her children's physical, spiritual and emotional needs, the study of Stanley & Byrne (2000:3) reveals that mothers still felt it important to be able to do so. The research indicates that a large amount of stress the incarcerated mother endures is due to the separation from her children. This spurs shameful thoughts, anger issues, being anxious, being saddened, having guilty feelings together with a feeling of hopelessness due to their children's absence. This stress has implications for the mothers' emotional and mental well-being.

Goulding (2004) further elaborates that incarcerated mothers remain largely worried and anxious regarding the welfare and upkeep of her children. Incarcerated mothers become extremely worried and strained in instances when their children are sick or troubled. Several of these mothers' children were having different troubles to endure. These issues concerned school expulsion, criminal activities, teenagers being pregnant as well as being the target of severe crimes. It was very evident that incarcerated mothers endured immensely hopeless feelings when their children needed them and that these mothers suffered for that reason (Goulding, 2004:52).

Farrell (1998) (Farrell, 1998: 14; Stone, 2013:26) concluded that incarcerated mothers thoughts of separation and loneliness, having little self-esteem, feelings of guiltiness, embarrassment and anxiety are all related to their separation from their children. However, there are very little prospects for incarcerated mothers to atone with their children or to even learn more positive parenting behaviour. Easteal (2001) reveals "every" female in her study indicated that the worst element of incarceration was a division from their children and that she was majorly concerned regarding their welfare (Easteal, 2001:104).

3.4.1.3 Asia

In India, the effects of the incarceration are painful on incarcerated mothers. Being unable to care for her children and family becomes a huge emotional burden on her (Parveen, 2006:121). Anxiety, stress, depression, moroseness, fear, and nervousness are a constant feature of females offenders held in India. There is proven damage to the incarcerated mothers' person and personality as being away from their children brings a lot of shame and embarrassment upon her (Shankardass, 2014:7).

Thailand's incarcerated mothers feel similarly. The disruption of the family ties has harmful and stressful effects which generate negative emotional bearings on incarcerated mothers which ultimately affect their rehabilitative opportunities (Kittayarak, 2015:39).

3.4.1.4 Eurasia

Russian studies (Piacentri, 2009:534; Skiles, 2012:671) indicate that this separation from her and her family create mental and physical pressure for the incarcerated mother. This adversely affects her health and how she adjusts to the correctional settings (Piacentri, 2009:534). Incarcerated mothers endure emotional and psychological health-related problems which regularly include difficult stress conditions, unhappiness, despair and self-harming conduct (Skiles, 2012:671).

3.4.1.5 Africa

Zimbabwean research (Mafume, 2014:25) indicates that great stress was revealed by incarcerated mothers showing that the split-up with their children is a major concern and worry for them. The study further indicates that most of the incarcerated mothers now live only for their children. Not for sustaining marriages but due to their children becoming their lifelines of life whilst incarcerated. Their

children give them a need to live or else they would have left their marriages or ended their lives (Mafume, 2014:27). For incarcerated mothers, thinking of ending their lives is suggestive and telling of the incredible depression and despair they endure.

3.4.2 An absence of support

3.4.2.1 The United States of America

Incarcerated mothers endure a further challenge due to an absence of support, not only for themselves but for their children as well. In North America, Hairston (1991:91), maintains that family support during incarceration influences and dictates the support network an incarcerated mother will receive upon her release and this has an impact on her reoffending, however, reveals that incarceration is unlikely to garner compassion and understanding (Hairston, 1991:99). Incarcerated mothers feel their children are being ostracised from the outside world because of her wrongdoing (Easterling, 2012:97).

It's extremely tough for an incarcerated mother to even inquire about the welfare of her child, even if her child is taken to the hospital. It can be many days of delays in getting a correctional official to make a call to find out if everything is all right. Correctional officers don't assist these mothers when assistance is required regarding their children. Incarcerated mothers can cry and scream and made to feel humiliated when all they want is to be a mother to their children but are just reduced to acting like a child as incarcerated mothers are treated like wayward children by correctional officials (Clark, 1995:312). For an incarcerated mother, the separation from her family and children along with guilt-riddled feelings and an absence of support systems could become a very challenging process for them as they attempt to define themselves as mothers whilst incarcerated (Easteling, 2012:54).

3.4.2.2 Australia

The study of Healy, Foley & Walsh (1999:5) signifies that families play an instrumental role in reintegrating incarcerated mothers into a significant social life. Positive family relationships are intensely related to minimising reoffending. In addition to low reoffending rates, incarcerated mothers who mend and maintain family ties have noted minimal issues such as disciplinaries whilst incarcerated and even better mental health and better prospects for reunification after their release (Stanley & Byrne, 2000:3). Goulding's research (2004:39) has revealed that continual family support and contact is instrumental in minimising the institutionalising way of life for incarcerated mothers. She indicates that incarcerated mothers without support and contact are 6 times more likely to re-offend. Family support is of such importance (Goulding, 2004:39).

Although the importance of support has been established, it hardly materialises. Seeing that many incarcerated mothers are responsible for their children's upkeep, they intend to resume their parental responsibilities upon release however financial aid from their child's father is unlikely. Further, most mothers endure divorce or are abandoned whilst they are incarcerated (Stone, 2013:32).

Incarcerated mothers are kept in locations that isolate them from their homes and children. This cruelly impedes family support. The absence of familial care and a feeling of "scorn" received from their families were noted as causes of bottomless hurt and extremely pressurising for incarcerated mothers. An incarcerated mother from Corrections Victoria made mention, "When a women goes to prison, the husband pisses off somewhere else and the children go every which way. You're lucky if a man will stand by you for twelve months when you're in jail. I don't think there is a woman in this place that has a man who has stood by her past the twelve-month mark. There is nothing to hold that family together. You have a fragmented family unit, the children go wild, and everything collapses. But if the

mother is there, there is a foundation. She can get by. She can give that support to them inside” (Farrell, 1998:9-11).

Correctional centres discriminate in their support offered to incarcerated mothers based on their crime categories. Given the Australian cultural setting and the notion of gender roles, an incarcerated mother is unable to find assistance inside the correctional settings especially if she is “substance abused or experientially abused” (Easteal, 2001:88).

3.4.2.3 Eurasia

A United Kingdom study (Shaw 1992:48) highlights that the people who care for her children in the absence of their mother also appear to lack the kind of informal support network found to exist among communities where incarcerated fathers are a common feature. This clearly highlights that society is more inclined to assist when fathers receive incarceration however reluctant to in cases of where mothers receive incarceration. When a community is unable to assist an incarcerated mother’s child whilst she is away, this lack of support heightens her challenges experienced (Shaw, 1992:48).

The study of Al’pern (2004) (Moran & Pallot, 2009:704) in Russia concluded that correctional officers are “condemnatory or patronising towards mothers”. Some even label them as “bad mothers” and that mothers are unable to provide stable childhoods for their children. These attitudes and behaviours of the correctional setting would at least be minimised if these mothers were closer to home and received more visits and support from her family. Many incarcerated mothers are kept very far away from their homes and this distance keeps her away from any support structure, like preparing her for life after release (Moran & Pallot, 2009:704).

3.4.2.4 Asia

In India, if an incarcerated mother murders her spouse even after years of his violence and abuse, the correctional setting labels her as a criminal and a sinner as well. The name calling that they endure from their female correctional officers is unsavoury and offensive. Incarcerated mothers just have to bear this which is an indication of the lack of support they receive from the correctional setting that they're placed in (Shankardass, 2014:6). The incarceration of mothers destroys and damages families and family life to leave these mothers without futures. This affects females of certain cultures even more as they have no support and no back up due to their incarceration (Shankardass, 2014:7). Parveen (2006:13) maintains that children of incarcerated mothers receive no support as well, either from their teachers or the community.

In Thailand, a lack of family support for the incarcerated mother generates harmful and negative emotional effects especially when they are incarcerated far from their homes. This lack of family support reduces their rehabilitation and re-entry opportunities (Kittayarak, 2015:39).

3.4.2.5 Africa

In Zimbabwe, incarcerated mothers are rejected as soon as she enters the correctional settings. She becomes unrelated to her in-laws and even her own family. She endures the stigma of being a criminal and a misfit in her community. From the onset of her misconduct, society disowns her. She will always be seen as inferior and irrelevant with an easy replacement of her (Mafume, 2014:29). Further, her children endure a lack of support from their society as well due to her incarceration (Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017:112)

Incarceration has a predominantly punitive effect on incarcerated mothers, in creating severe family disorder. Incarcerated mothers as discussed are more than

likely their children's sole carers. They provide for their children's upkeep and an absence of support from her community adds to her challenges experienced. The United Nations (Stephenson, online study.com tutorial) constitutes 193 nations and its charter is to maintain security and to develop relations amongst the nations. The Quaker United Nations Office undertook a paper on incarcerated mothers to attain clearer insight into their challenges experienced and by those of their children. The report represents many African countries as well. The report concluded that an incarcerated mother loses her rented accommodation once she enters the correctional centre and discrimination follows her even after her release from the institution. With being unable to attain accommodation, incarcerated mothers are unable to reclaim custodianship for her children as proper accommodation is a requirement (Townhead, 2006:8).

Incarcerated mothers endure a lack of support on many different levels. Support is vital for her mental well-being, her positive attitudes and her relationships with her children, her responses towards her rehabilitative programmes and her correctional officials, and her successful reintegration with society and her family. A lack of support stems from their families absence, from their children's school teachers, from having a lack of finances from their partners, from society, from their correctional officials, and from the state who incarcerate them so far away from their homes and children. The studies explored have revealed that incarcerated mothers endure a lack of support on these various levels and that this backing is crucial and vital for sustaining a healthy relationship between a mother and her children, for the incarcerated mothers rehabilitative prospects her re-entry as well as for her children's positive progress.

3.4.3 Concerns regarding their children

Children are an integral part of a mother's life, both for incarcerated and non-incarcerated mothers. A child with an incarcerated mother experiences distresses as well. This distress further intensifies an incarcerated mother's challenge for she

is concerned regarding the upkeep and welfare of her children whilst she is away. The incarceration of mothers may not solely violate her rights, but her children's right as well. In being able to acknowledge and understand the full impact of challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers, insight will be offered into the anguishes experienced by incarcerated mothers' children due largely and directly from the separation caused and created by incarceration. These turmoil's experienced by her children have serious ramifications on her emotional well-being, resulting in her depression and despair. When mothers are incarcerated their options for child care is limited.

An incarcerated mother's young children or babies could enter the institution to be kept by her or be detached from her and kept "outside". Each of these circumstances is risky for her child (Townhead, 2006:5). The Handbook for Prison Managers and Policymakers on Women and Imprisonment (United Nations, 2008:20) reiterates that the division between mothers and her children as a consequence of incarceration has shocking and disturbing lengthy effects for incarcerated mothers together with her children. These children give hope and create hopefulness for many inmates and severing such a bond concerning mothers and her children is the harshest form of punishment that a mother could endure.

3.4.3.1 The United States of America

Children of incarcerated mothers exhibit greater depths of issues which are educational, social or emotionally related than children in the general population. Siegel, a US author notes that maternal incarceration contributes to negative outcomes amongst children (Siegel, 2011:188). This is indeed a vital element for researchers trying to comprehend the consequences which incarceration effects on children (Easterling, 2012:15).

Most often such children are deprived even before the incarceration, however, their situation worsens once a mother is incarcerated and new challenges develop which are not limited to only living arrangements, stress, and stigma (Easterling, 2012:15). The shame children feel due to their mother's experiencing incarceration creates damaging results in families (Siegel, 2011:148). Most of these children are placed in risky or harmful situations due to the ostracised societal and financial circumstances presented in their lives and in their environments (Clark, 1995:308).

Further, children affected by maternal incarceration largely indicate various mental health issues, social issues, and stress during their mother's incarceration. These include depressive moods, being hyperactive, displaying aggressive conduct, withdrawal signs, deterioration, clingy behaviour, sleeping issues, eating difficulties, non-attendance in school, weak school performance, criminal behaviour and running away. These children are in danger of potentially creating generational crime (McQuaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:236). Brown and Bloom (2009) affirm that children experience social and emotional distress due to the separation from their mother and this also burdens their carers (Brown & Bloom, 2009:327). It's not only incarcerated mothers that endure stigma, but their children also face stigma as well due to their mother's incarceration (Easterling, 2012:97).

3.4.3.2 Australia

Children of incarcerated mothers not only lose their principal caregiver but may be removed from their homes during her incarceration (Farrell, 1998:9). These children endure a myriad of issues. Stanley & Byrne (2000:2) maintains that these problem factors can be described as physical health problems, hostile and aggressive behaviour, substance abuse, not attending school, running away, discipline issues, withdrawal symptoms, fear, negative academic performance, crying, depression, and nightmares. Goulding (2004:52) indicates that the loss of their mothers scars these children who endure many shifts between foster care schedules. Most children experience serious issues and problems which range

from facing expulsion, engaging in criminal activities themselves or even teenagers becoming pregnant.

3.4.3.3 Asia

The most crucial aspect in the damage between the connection incarcerated mothers and children have is the dilemma of her children. In India, very less consideration has been afforded to this matter. It is the children who are left behind whilst their mother is away. They face dire and dreadful consequences as they are often left alone and have to fend for themselves (Shankardass, 2014:5).

The study of Parveen (2006) in India concludes that children of incarcerated mothers, mostly those children that are placed in state care, are at greater risk emerging as criminals when they are adults (Parveen, 2006:7). Maternal incarceration has substantial negative effects on children. Children are affected in all spheres of their lives inclusive of their bonds with their mothers. Parveen (2006) refers to this as bereaving however, this contains additional stigma and no backing, either from their teachers and the community. This sways these children towards destructive, violent and anti-social conduct. These effects on the children vary, depending on their age group (Parveen, 2006:13)

In Thailand, research reveals a link between problematic behaviour in children and having an incarcerated mother. It has been indicated that these children are more in jeopardy of manifesting behaviour issues and meagre and weak mental health. They themselves are at risk of incarceration. These children experience problems throughout their lives which include attachment disorders, emotional instability and personality disorders (Kittayarak, 2015:39).

3.4.3.4 Eurasia

In the United Kingdom, Caddle and Crisp (1997) revealed that a child enduring maternal incarceration was undergoing various issues due to the separation created by their mother's incarceration. Most of the children experienced behavioural problems and were mostly withdrawn. These children experience severe emotional problems when compared to children of incarcerated fathers (Caddle & Crisp, 1997:2).

3.4.3.5 Africa

In Zimbabwe, the state support centres don't care about children of their incarcerated mothers. A feeling of hurt and hopelessness prevails when their primary caretaker is taken away from them due to incarceration. The Government's lack of attention towards assisting these children makes them vulnerable and helpless. This is why most of the children resort to delinquent and anti-social devices and mechanisms in aid of survival as many of their substitute carers are unable to care for and provide for these children as these carers do not necessarily have the capacity or ability to care for them. A lack of support for these children from their society further prevails (Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017:112).

Children of incarcerated mothers endure stigma from their communities. This stigma propels peer hostility, social aggression and by large, becoming isolated. Society makes unnecessary assumptions regarding these children based on the wrongdoing of their mother (Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017:112). These children have been reported as those that have lacked love, more prone to depression and have an assortment of mental deficits (Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017:110).

In a study conducted in Ghana, it was revealed that children of incarcerated mothers endure stigma from their friends, schooling community, family and society overall. A crucial revelation was that these children perform dismally at school. This

emanates from their encounter with emotional and psychological stresses. An incarcerated mother's child is most likely to participate in substance abuse and alcohol abuse as coping strategies (Joseph, 2013:73).

3.4.4 Inefficiencies of substitute caring

3.4.4.1 The United States of America

By a mother being incarcerated it has a multitude of ripple effects affecting her children, the people who care for her children and herself whilst she is incarcerated. Incarcerated mothers have very limited resources; hence once incarcerated they are unable to network a sound and structured care system for their children whilst away. Caregivers often have unresolved issues with the incarcerated mothers and stressed by their burdens, express hostility towards these mothers (Brown & Bloom, 2009:327). Kinship caregivers may feel negatively towards the incarcerated mother and may believe that visits with their parent will impact on them negatively (Travis & Waul, 2003:21).

Dependent children's upkeep is put in the hands of caregivers usually their maternal grannies, aunts, relatives or friends once their mother has been incarcerated (Feder, 2003:237). Sometimes children are separated and placed with their fathers if more fathers exist in a family or also in foster care. This separates the children from their extended family creating further anguish to the incarcerated mother as her children are now scattered away from each other, at least if siblings are together they can rally together. "Many substitute caregivers are unable to cope and resentful at having to try to do so with the sacrifices this often entails; this, in turn, must negatively affect the nature of care experienced by the inmate's child" (Henriques, 1982:100). Substitute carers can endure hassles and worries by having these added duties and tasks; hence children have to grow up quickly instead of being troublesome to others in their lives (Easterling, 2012:18).

The Effects of Parental Incarceration on Children Report indicates that where caregivers are usually grandparents, they are mostly physically frail and have unstable finances (Khanzhina, 2011:44). Caregivers also become tired and drained and they believe incarcerated mothers should continue their mothering duties as soon as can be done (Brown & Bloom, 2009:324). Young and Smith (2000) further indicate the various issues that grandparents endure whilst being substitute carers. They include emotional, financial and physical difficulties which result in a weak state of care being afforded to the children in the absence of their mothers. Where grandmothers take care of their daughters children in her absence, the relationship between the grandmother & the incarcerated mother is commonly stressed and tense, harbouring feelings of resentment, anger and bitterness (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001:6) When children are in foster care, caregivers may be less inclined to assist with children visiting their incarcerated parent (Khanzhina, 2011:59).

Clark (1995), highlights that the anguishes experienced by the incarcerated mother whilst at the same time their children experience unpleasant conditions on the outside as well. In instances of neglect by family and mistreatment in the absence of their mother, Clark refers to this as “parallel experiences”. This may be beneficial for an incarcerated mother to communicate with and understand her children, however, should the mother experience feelings that she is being undermined; it would be difficult for her to concede to her own issues. Children sense this and enact their mother’s unspoken feeling of having no hope and help (Clark, 1995:314).

3.4.4.2 Australia

Stone (2013) highlighted that the relationship between an incarcerated mother and her children's carer define the level of connection and communication she has with her children. More often, carers are not approving of mothers due to her wrongdoing and reject accompanying children to visit with their mothers. Even if children are in foster care, the same occurs as these carers are reluctant to visit.

As a result incarcerated mothers are being drawn away more from the daily practices of their children (Stone, 2013:66).

Further Australian studies (Farrell, 1998; Goulding, 2004) reveal that many incarcerated mothers endure social isolation mainly due to their negative relationships with their children's carers' (Stone, 2013:101). Stone's study further indicates that due to this unsatisfactory situation that mothers are found in with their children's carers, they rely on community services for assistance with child visits. Data indicates that such organisations who offer such services are heavily reliant on funding and are under-resourced (Stone, 2013:101).

3.4.4.3 Eurasia

In the United Kingdom, incarcerated mothers depended largely on substitute carers to care for their children in their absence. They mainly comprise grandparents and female relatives. This resulted in substantial financial problems for the carers as they were not in positions to meet with financial demands (Caddle & Crisp, 1997:2).

The Irish study of Breen (2010) reveals that dependence for assistance on family and relatives frequently curtailed strained network ties and even sometimes the severing of those ties and isolation from the incarcerated mother. This is mainly due to substitute caregivers being forced to leave their employment because of having to care for these children or even may take on additional employment or work long hours for the child's upkeep and welfare which creates added burdens for families (Breen, 2010:50).

3.4.4.4 Africa

Incarceration leads to various changes for a family. There are huge ramifications on the socialisation process of children. One of the changes experienced is the

large possibility that children will have to go and live with other families or relatives. This results in a disconnection of ties amongst the siblings. Sometimes their remaining parent remarries and divorces their mother whilst she is incarcerated. This new carer will most likely spurn negative implications for the family (Joseph, 2013:73).

3.4.5 Limited opportunities for bonding

Having noted that incarcerated mothers are a fast-growing population of offenders, the key concern for the Correctional Department should be the challenges faced by these mothers are distinctive and call for a special line of attack. One would contemplate the “special approach” to include the promotion and advancement of the bonding process between mothers and their children. The process of bonding is vital for any mother and child relationship. In the case of an incarcerated mother being able to maintain some form of normalcy is aided by bonding between herself and her children. Bonding processes are carried out by utilising various mechanisms for attainment. Its main process is via regular visits, writing letters and telephone calls. Regular visits allow for a mother and child to “play catch up”. This allows the incarcerated mother to be further engaged in the life of her child, offering comfort and still being able to fulfil her role, in most ways, as a mother to them.

This section aims to uncover the bonding processes available for an incarcerated mother separated from her children due to incarceration. In the widespread literature search regarding bonding process’s amongst an incarcerated mother and her child, the following finding recurred; due to having lesser correctional centres that house females, females are kept very far from their homesteads and families unlike male offenders, creating difficult to retain family ties (Townhead, 2006:7; Khanzhina, 2011; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001; Mallicoat, 2012; Caddle & Crisp, 1997; Skiles, 2012; Piacentini *et al*, 2009; Moran & Pallot, 2009; Parveen, 2006; Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017; Nazra, 2017).

3.4.5.1 The United States of America

The Effects of Parental Incarceration on Children Report makes reference against the various forms of bonding between an incarcerated mother and her children. The report notes that a less than ideal environment is arranged for visitation amongst mothers and children. The state of the visiting room is less than satisfactory and the contact is restricted to just a hug. Only children five years and younger may be seated on the lap of their mother at the discretion of the correctional officer. Although most correctional facilities have policies that accommodate telephone calls between mothers and children, most of these facilities do not allow it. Another form of bonding is through written communication which the parties can use to repair and restore ruined relationships. However, policies regarding envelopes and stamps restrict the incarcerated mother's ability to write (Khanzhina, 2011:56-60). All of these communication methods allow for the incarcerated mother to feel a greater attachment to her children and have a bigger sense of having a mothering ability to their children. In its absence, the opposite is endured.

The report further establishes that visits from children are rare and difficult due to financial strains and distance from their homes and the correctional centre. In most cases, these children live hundreds of miles away. It is largely challenging for caregivers to accompany these children to the correctional centres primarily based on fuel cost, food, perhaps accommodation, school schedules and correctional setting visitation times. There are a small percentage of mothers who have visits from their children however these visits are very time restrictive as the research indicates and these visits occur within the confines of the correctional centre (Khanzhina, 2011:58). Further studies (Clark, 1995; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001; Harris, 2011; Mallicoat, 2012) conducted in the United States of America will be highlighted to corroborate and reinforce the outcomes of the Effects of Parental Incarceration on Children Report (2011).

Clark (1995:309) maintains that correctional centres as described by incarcerated mothers are cruel, overbearing, demeaning, condescending, depriving and damaging to the bonds between mothers and children.

Parke and Clarke-Stewart (2001:7) indicate that correctional settings are usually created in distant and isolated parts. This is far too often at a great distance to where their children and caregivers reside which hampers and obstructs visitation excessively. Most families have minimal resources and means. Further, there are rules regarding who can visit, the number of visitors permitted applicable behaviour whilst visiting, the absence of privacy, unpleasant conduct against visitors from correctional staff and the design of the visiting space frequently discourages family and caregivers from visiting. Other negative factors that hinder visits were indicated as; visit rooms that were not child-friendly, visit rooms that lacked privacy and created greater anxieties for visiting.

Harris (2011:31) retains that one way to bond mothers and children would be to create parenting confidence that is positively correlated with parental involvement, suggesting that parenting classes that are geared to improve the quality and quantity of mother-child interactions could potentially improve the overall quality of their relationship. Harris establishes that a lack of parental confidence is very evident. Harris concludes that low parenting confidence can have negative effects and be especially challenging once incarcerated mothers are released.

Mallicoat (2012:463) recaps that there is a relationship shared between distance and bonding for distance plays a significant role in how well an incarcerated mother copes with rehabilitation and for her successful re-entry. There are various implications to this including transport availability, cost of transport and the caregiver's availability to being able to accompany dependent children to visit with their mothers.

3.4.5.2 Australia

Easteal's study (2001:104) indicates that the only links of communication incarcerated mothers have are letters, telephone calls, and visits. The study indicates that letters are challenging for younger children, that the telephone has costs or access issues attached to it and visits especially for young children can hurt a mother and child relationship due to an absence of toys and correctional rules relating to a mother's movement. This can only worsen a mother's anxiety and grief. Further, if a mother is only allowed one visit per week, the choice of which child can visit becomes problematic. Even after visits, there are serious emotional repercussions and aftermaths as it requires an extensive period of time for incarcerated mothers to overcome the visit. Incarcerated mothers mostly feel "empty and helpless".

Goulding (2004) outlines the visitation procedure in Australia. Incarcerated mothers children are processed into the corrections facility "via the use of hand-held or walk-through metal detectors, hi-tech surveillance cameras, mirrors, the physical presence of prison officers and drug detection dogs". Apart of recent times, relatives and family, inclusive of minors and infants had to endure strip searches in Western Australia. This consisted of being placed in a room in the attendance of two correctional officers; visitors had to remove all clothing, shoes, jewellery, underwear, and dentures. The mothers in the study iterated their distress and despair when their daughters were strip-searched before being able to see them (Goulding, 2004:23).

In most correctional centres, incarcerated mothers are not able to receive calls. Further, incarcerated mothers are unable to make mobile or cell phone calls. This is an issue as a large number of families do not have landline facilities due to financial costs and many prefer the prepaid mobile option. Another issue is the remote locations at which mothers are incarcerated (Goulding, 2004:41). Only pre-school children have access to a special mother and child visit. The rest of the

other children are only permitted visits through normal visiting times in an overcrowded visit area riddled with strict rules and no physical contact with their mothers. Administration processes and the general feeling within the visitation area is unwelcoming nor do they cater for the needs of children. A healthy mother and child relationship requires bonding and these circumstances are unfavourable towards the promotion of positive bonds between mothers and children (Goulding, 2004:52).

3.4.5.3 Eurasia

In the United Kingdom, the expense was the most problematic area. Most of the incarcerated mothers did not have finances to buy telephone call cards. Other issues cited against telephone contact were exhaustive long queues and having no privacy whilst on the telephone with their children. Further, the children endured long and tiring trips to the correctional centres for such short and restrictive visits to see their mothers (Caddle & Crisp, 1997:3).

In Russia, the distance to the correctional facilities deters visits. This isolates incarcerated mothers which adversely hampers their rehabilitation and re-entry prospects. Female correctional facilities are very few and limited and the regime allocates one in every two females to a differing zone. Seeing that incarcerated females are mostly mothers and their children's principle caretakers, the Russian government transfers females based on its own convenience and ease without taking cognisance of a females maternal standing (Skiles, 2012:672).

In the Russian study of Piacentini *et al* (2009), it was found that the location of the correctional centre and the rate of visits shared a negative relationship. What this meant was that the further incarcerated mothers lived from the correctional environment, the lesser their chances of receiving visits. The large majority of incarcerated mothers received letters whilst only a handful received visits. A

quarter of the mothers in this study only received one visit per year (Piacentini *et al*, 2009:534).

In the study of Moran & Pallot (2009), maintaining contact with their kin is adversely affected where mothers are placed long distances from their home. However Russian authorities still house their offenders in remote locations once convicted, especially in the case of females (Moran & Pallot, 2009:702). Many of the incarcerated mothers received no visits and for the few that did, they received lesser than three visits per year. Many incarcerated mothers were serving sentences from one and half years to a decade. The medium sentence served was half a decade. This indicated that mothers could anticipate a visit only a few times whilst incarcerated (Moran & Pallot, 2009:716).

3.4.5.4 Asia

Indian studies (Parveen, 2006; Shankardass, 2014) indicate that visiting correctional centres can be intimidating, daunting and a shameful experience for children. Long distances of travel in addition to arriving at an uninviting building, and being searched by strange adults, just to be with their mothers for such a short while, where their mothers are not even able to hold them or play with them, can be exceptionally distressing and upsetting for a child. This may even make children's substitute caregivers unwilling to agree on visits (Parveen, 2006:7).

The stigma is endured over an extensive period of time. Incarcerated mothers have few visitors after their initial weeks of incarceration as her families feel the huge burden and humiliation that is brought about due to her incarceration (Shankardass, 2014:7).

3.4.5.5 Africa

A Zimbabwean study (Mafume, 2014) revealed that a large number of mothers do not have visits from their families and children. Reason for non-visits include long travel times to the correctional centres and also families feel hostile towards the misconduct committed. Despite the fact that many incarcerated mothers are married, they do not receive visits from the husbands as well as many of their husbands abandon them whilst they are incarcerated as they take on new wives (Mafume, 2014:8).

An additional Zimbabwean study (Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017) reveals that correctional services are situated far from towns. Transport to visit their incarcerated mothers is negligibly low and this discourages visits from their children. Being unable to visit their incarcerated mothers is a crucial element that destroys the mother and child relationship. The research offers further insight as to the Zimbabwean system of corrections. It indicates that this institution is the central factor for discouraging mother and child bonds. The institution is guilty of treating their visitors as offenders. Children visiting maintain that the correctional officers treat them harshly and they do not want to revisit their mothers as a consequence. A visit to a correctional centre has been regarded as both physically and emotionally draining. A consequence was that a limited amount of children would visit their incarcerated mothers (Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017:110).

A research paper based on feminist studies by Nazra (2017) reveals that female institutions in Egypt are minimal as there are only 5 throughout the country. As a result, there are long distances between incarcerated mothers' homes and the correctional centres. Most of the mothers in this research revealed their visitors including their children had to endure many difficulties when trying to visit with them. Difficulties included long trips, the stigma involved, the costs associated and the visits were so short when contrasted to the distress and hours of waiting before they could see their children and families (Nazra, 2017:8).

3.4.6 Shortfalls of rehabilitation programmes offered at Correctional Centre's

One of the major aims of incarceration is rehabilitation. A major driver in the rehabilitation process is the programmes offered at correctional centres. It is essential for incarcerated mothers to reinvent and redefine their mothering roles and to make them realise and understand the principal importance of a mother and child relationship. Rehabilitation programmes offered are necessary and crucial for creating skills for employment opportunities and for incarcerated mothers to have better self-awareness. Seeing that a large amount of tax is collected for aiding the entire incarceration process, Governments create policies for providing assistance and support to incarcerated mothers. This section aims to unravel the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes offered to incarcerated mothers.

3.4.6.1 The United States of America

The criminal justice system has not been modified to meet with the wants of the female wrongdoer which is quite different from those of men. The location of where mothers are incarcerated presents another challenge to their rehabilitative process. Females usually have only one dedicated facility for housing them. Usually its far from their families and in rural areas. This presents a challenge where their families and children are unable to visit them at the correctional centre. Correctional facilities must deliver programmes and implement procedures that uphold and improve relationships between families for incarcerated mothers would go back to her children, inclusive of her mothering responsibilities (Sheridan, 1996:432). Successful re-entry programmes include reducing not only recidivism for the offending mother but helps to steer her children further away from the structures of criminal justice (Khanzhina, 2011:67).

Female's needs for mental and physical services have been disregarded by corrections and government representatives (Covington, 2007:1). Incarcerated mothers battle addictions, poverty, and abuse, which results in their misconduct,

thereby their consequential incarceration. Too often data is not collected which offers insight into what works and what does not. This is invaluable data as this would assist in creating future programmes (Benedict, 2009:151). Incarcerated mothers in the United States of America receive little help towards their rehabilitation (Easterling, 2012:165; Clark, 1995:312; Harris, 2011:25; Sheridan, 1996:432; Covington, 2007:1).

Women realise the writing on paper is rather not the same from what really takes place (Clark, 1995:312). Incarcerated mothers are exposed to service programmes but the programmes are not adequately assessed for satisfying the needs of the incarcerated mother. Certain programmes such as the Family Violence Programme encourage females to identify with the destructive and personally destructive pathways, however, programmes such as these are cut due to budget constraints (Clark, 1995: 310). Although service programmes do exist, it's become vital and essential to set of scales right between meaningful work, therapeutic programmes and having a necessary education for incarcerated mothers. These programmes need to fill the void, a void that drugs and the street life have created (Clark, 1995:324).

Harris's study (2011) indicates that re-entering mothers place emphasis on rehabilitation programmes because many of them just end up back on the streets. Whilst incarcerated they are not educated on inpatient facilities and how the system operates. Incarcerated mothers felt that their case managers needed to determine which programmes were available and if they would qualify or not. They were not receiving this guidance whilst incarcerated (Harris, 2011:25).

Incarcerated mothers need to build bonds and form positive relationships with their children. Incarcerated mothers need to grow and this is the responsibility and concern of correctional services to assist them in developing positively. The correctional environment is closed and punitive and reconstructs a dysfunctional

family system. This hinders and impacts the mother on the outside as an individual and as a mother to her children (Clark, 1995:308).

Incarcerated mothers have to endure many distresses and losses whilst locked away due to the separation from their loved ones. They endure emotional and psychological impediments and they need to reconnect with their children and family and to understand their identities as mothers. They require assistance whilst incarcerated as well as when they are released. Without constructive assistance, they would just re-offend and re-enter the correctional facility. Helping and assisting them to treat this loss would be a very beneficial part of the incarceration and rehabilitation process (Easterling, 2012:170).

3.4.6.2 Australia

Stanley & Byrne (2000) indicates that limitations in data collection do not make provision and preparation for services rendered to provide for the needs of incarcerated mothers. Research data is required into the needs of these mothers and how correctional settings should assist in the proper rendering of scarce services. This would entail identifying coping strategies that would reduce the impacts of stress (Stanley & Byrne, 2000:4).

There are very little prospects for incarcerated mothers towards restitution to her children or to even obtain improved mothering skills (Easteal, 2001:104).

3.4.6.3 Eurasia

In Russia, Piacentini *et al* (2009) mention that means and methods of rehabilitation aim to “beautify women”. Half year prior to her release she has to present herself at “a school of freedom” maintained through the correctional centre staff. These skills are based on beauty routines, music and fashion. It is expected that Russian women be “polite and pleasing”. Females are taught how to make beds, how to

wash, and how to be “womanly”. They are taught how to find a husband. Based on this finding, it is obviously clear that the Russian incarcerated mother endures a unique rehabilitation experience that prepares her for her release. Gender reshaping together with a “good dose” of Soviet philosophy (Piacentini *et al*, 2009:536).

A further Russian study (Moran & Pallot, 2009) repeats similar findings. The central premise of rehabilitation undertakings is based on correcting an incarcerated mother’s loss of femininity. Russia believes in refeminisation and its rehabilitation programmes focus on beauty and domesticity. This focus outlines the courses in preparation for life once she is released from the correctional centre (Moran & Pallot, 2009:709). Moran & Pallot noted that this domestic harmony prepared incarcerated mothers for being better wives and mothers however this could not relieve her from her husband's abuse and beatings. Further, this could not discourage her from additional attacks on him once she was released which would result in her re-offending (Moran & Pallot, 2009:714).

Incarcerated mothers endure specific problems due to their gender, not only in Russia but around the world. Correctional settings were designed and developed to accommodate men. From its construction and layout, security and safety systems, medical services, visitation schemes, and training programmes were all mainly created aimed at men without even the consideration or thought for females (Skiles, 2012:667).

3.4.6.4 Asia

In Thailand (Kittayarak, 2015) indicates that correctional services need to react to and provide for the specific and special requirements of incarcerated mothers. Distinctive programmes such as pregnancy care and child-rearing programmes have to be accessible to enhance an incarcerated mother’s abilities and skill sets to rear their children once released (Kittayarak, 2015:42).

An Indian study (Shankardass, 2014) highlights the gravity and sense of urgency of its high findings of mental health problems especially amongst its female inmate population which requires urgent attention. A dire necessity for efficient emotional care programmes in correctional facilities is required. This urgent need calls for staff training as they are required to be aware of such needs because if the issue is not treated and prevented, it would “reach dangerous proportions” as instances of mental health issues have resulted in illnesses (Shankardass, 2014:6).

3.4.6.5 Africa

A study conducted in Nigeria (Ajayi, 2012) indicates that recreational services and the attainment of skills are lacking in Nigerian correctional centres. This reflects badly especially for an institution that has a central focus on rehabilitation and reformation. Structures of these institutions and its practices, in reality, impede and hinder this central focus. Once incarcerated, mothers attain some of the attitudes and knowledge from others who are incarcerated. This may reinforce their desire to engage in further misconduct. The isolation of incarcerated mothers from society as well, impacts on their rehabilitative prospects (Ajayi, 2012:222).

In an Egyptian study (Nazra, 2017), it was revealed that there are no rehabilitation programmes or training programmes available. None at all on the part of the correctional administration. But instead, there were volunteer efforts by capable incarcerated females to teach drawing, sewing or handcrafts. However, correctional officials do not permit all females to engage in such activities, especially political offenders (Nazra, 2017:9).

3.5 RE-ENTRY FOR INCARCERATED MOTHERS

As indicated thus far, incarcerated mothers endure many hardships and challenges whilst incarcerated. It is vitally important to note her challenges once she is released from the correctional centre as well. Her trauma and sufferings do not

cease once her incarceration period is completed. Females endure various discriminations once released from correctional centres. Such factors include social labelling as families may shut their doors on them and they could face losing their parental rights. Most incarcerated mothers endure violent and harsh relationships and reintegration means having to start a new life which is inclusive of economic and employment issues as well.

Incarcerated mothers challenging backgrounds which transpired prior to her incarceration and challenges experienced whilst incarcerated relating to childcare have been presented thus far. This section intends to highlight incarcerated mothers re-entry challenges. Its aim is to signify the endless struggles of an incarcerated mother.

3.5.1 The United States of America

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2008) reveals that multiple periods of homelessness before incarceration is experienced by females. The report notes that 20% of incarcerated mothers were homeless a year prior to their incarceration (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008:7). This increases anxiety and poses further challenges for incarcerated mothers and children due to being homeless.

Brown and Bloom's (2009) research conducted in Hawaii indicates the employment hunt post-incarceration creates hindrances and problems for females with insufficient education and minimal genuine work capabilities. Interviews were concluded with 203 released mothers. Only 37% had gained employment. They occupied anywhere from 1 to 5 differing jobs with many being temporary positions which indicates employment instability. For some of these mothers, failure to work may violate their parole conditions and their successful re-entry. Only 3 of these women managed to set up households after their release and more than half of them (53.7%) moved between 1 and 3 times over an average of 16 months after

their release (Brown and Bloom, 2009:321). Securing a job poses as another challenge after incarceration (Harris, 2011:3).

Re-entering mothers have greater parenting challenges than non-offending mothers as their children have greater behavioural problems. These mothers also contain lower levels of parenting confidence, family resources like assistance with childcare and personal resources such as having an emotional support system (Harris, 2011:15).

3.5.2 Australia

Goulding (2004) reveals that various other losses emanate due to incarceration. Once a mother is released, she will mostly need to start over. Goulding indicates that many incarcerated mothers lose their homes within a short period after their incarceration, even in a matter of weeks. Losing their accommodation “snowballed” various other costs. Losses included losing private possessions, household items and motor vehicles were revealed as further losses (Goulding, 2004:31).

Goulding further expands on re-entry issues confronted by incarcerated mothers. Mothers encounter social isolation once released. Communities are hostile and most mothers feel they cannot revert to previous family life the way it was or not be able to return to their previous communities. In addition, incarcerated mothers are unable to effectively mix with mainstream society due to their incarceration and the stigma of her incarceration. As a result, they battle to find a niche in the wider community. It is rather difficult for incarcerated mothers to join any social groups like an arts and crafts or mothers club due to disclosure of her incarceration. She fears that she may be rejected as she would be viewed as having transcended social norms due to her misconduct. Due to such elements, incarcerated mothers would relatively search for approval and acceptance from other ex-offenders. This intensifies their prospects of isolation and in many cases, they remain in abusive

homes. This is often reinforced and worsened by their lack or absence of positive relationships, social links and social connections (Goulding, 2004:36).

A further Australian study of Stone (2013) indicated that mothers were the primary carers of their children before her incarceration. Once incarcerated the predicaments of their children become unstable irrespective of where the child has been placed, either with family or in foster care. As a consequence, mothers will most likely return to a “splintered family”. For a mother who was incarcerated, readjusting to living beside her family and children and continuing with her mothering responsibilities can be challenging (Stone, 2013:32).

Mothers, especially those who had short incarceration periods, regularly revert to their issues they experienced prior to her incarceration. Compounded to these issues is an absence of income, being homeless, having tattered coping skills and yet still need to demonstrate that they are worthy for taking up their caring responsibilities of their children (Stone, 2013:32).

3.5.3 Eurasia

The United Kingdom (Caddle & Crisp, 1997) revealed that incarcerated mothers endure a substantial and significant number of issues once released from their incarceration. For many of them, they lose their employment and housing as well. The incarceration process also creates very serious and severe repercussions for an incarcerated mother and her family structure. Many of these mothers who lived with their husbands anticipate being single parents upon their release. However, with male offenders, the scenario is rather different as most of them return to their wives or partners (Caddle & Crisp, 1997:3).

In Russia, Valery Abramkin, who was the director for the Moscow Centre for Prison Reform had the following comments in 2003 during a radio discussion; “We have found that there is a critical point in a prison term after which an irreversible change

in mentality occurs, and in women it comes twice as quickly as in men. In men, it is three to four years, but in women, the irreversible changes happen in only one and a half to two years. The most terrible consequence of imprisonment for a woman is that even if she does not re-offend and come back to prison, her ability to be a homemaker, at the centre of the home, a normal wife and mother, is lost or diminished” (Moran & Pallot, 2009:709).

3.5.4 Asia

A study in India (Parveen 2006) notes that although all offenders experience reintegration problems, for mothers it is worse. For mothers are compelled to reunite and reconnect with their children. Mothers fear that their children may be different due to growing up whilst they were incarcerated. A further re-entry challenge the study establishes is that even for short-term incarcerations, mothers lose the rented housing that they lived in prior as a consequence she is unable to reclaim custodianship of her children due to her having no accommodation (Parveen, 2006:13).

A further study in India (Shankardass, 2014) highlights that incarcerated mothers are defined by family life in India. Incarceration removes them from their caring responsibilities which not only complicates their issues but also damages and ruins their self-worth and image. This does not remain only for the duration of her incarceration period, but continually afterward. Men are not affected by such issues but mothers are seriously wounded by this adjustment and these wounds and hurt never heal (Shankardass, 2014:5).

3.5.5 Africa

The re-entry process is challenging on various levels in Ghana. Challenges encountered for incarcerated mothers are a lack of housing, gaining employment and health services. Many incarcerated mothers have limited education and

skillsets. As such, coupled with discrimination from possible employers, they are unable to attain employment. Mothers with histories of substance abuse, run the risk of relapse. A vital challenge experienced by incarcerated mothers has to be the re-establishing of her relationships with her children. A lack of visits whilst she was incarcerated may have negatively fuelled a bond between a mother and her children (Joseph, 2013:39).

3.6 CONCLUSION

No person commits a crime with the intention of getting caught; hence incarcerated mothers did not take into account the consequences of being separated from their children. Seeing that motherhood is a permanent relationship between a mother and her children, it has been established that once she enters the correctional centre, she's stripped of her ability to bond with and nurture her children.

This chapter draws attention to previous studies with the aim of creating parallel comparisons, by using some of the limited studies available from the various countries to represent the various continents. Literature referred to spanned over two decades and the benefit of such was discovered during the writing of this chapter, as it affords insight when comparing studies from different time frames. It readily establishes that challenges are the same, if not similar across the globe and that not many changes have been effected to remedy such challenges which prevailed from the 1990s as its presence is still felt today.

The discussion indicates that incarcerated mothers the world over irrespective of their age, race, religion or even nationality endures and experience similar if not the same conditions and challenges whilst incarcerated. As is evident, various issues have been raised. Correctional centres seem to be at the center of incarcerated mothers challenges experienced and they are state driven, meaning that these departments are controlled by the government sector. Hence it's

befitting to say that Governments are required to take cognisance of these serious and disturbing issues.

The states are mostly responsible for limited opportunities for bonding due to the location of their correctional facilities (Townhead, 2006; Khanzhina, 2011; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001; Mallicoat, 2012). Sound and constructive rehabilitation programs that ensure for the creation of successful mother and child relationships, successful re-entry as well as programmes that aid and alleviate an incarcerated mothers depression and despair need to be a priority for the state. These programs need to be specific to these issues, not a general program deployed to the entire inmate population as issues experienced by incarcerated mothers are unique and exclusive, hence tailor-made programs should be organised that assist with these challenges experienced (Sheridan, 1996; Easterling, 2012; Clark, 1995; Harris, 2011; Stanley & Byrne, 2000; Moran & Pallot, 2009; Skiles, 2012; Kittayarak, 2015; Shankardass, 2014; Ajayi, 2012).

The next chapter reflects on South Africa's maternal incarceration. The model of thematic analysis will be used for South Africa as well. This will afford the research insight in terms of challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers in South Africa and whether they are unique to just South Africa or if they share a similarity and resemblance with their international counterparts.

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CHAPTER FOUR

FEMALE INCARCERATION: A SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sheds light into the development of the correctional system in Kwa-Zulu Natal paying added attention to that of the Durban Westville Correctional Centre where this study is being conducted. Further, this chapter relates to an overview of the South African context of mothers incarcerated; their challenges and anguishes experienced relating to childcare whilst incarcerated as well as post-release.

The Department of Correctional Services is mandated and assigned to manage the system of corrections in South Africa. From 1990 and thereafter Government ratified correctional changes and the Department of Correctional Services was created in 1991 (Van Zyl Smit, 1992:40-42). Significant amendments in the prisons systems legislation were noted. The amendment of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1990 restricted the death penalty (Van Zyl Smit, 1992:40). The Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998 is the current legislation that guides the Department of Correctional Services. In addition to the Correctional Services Act, 111 of 1998 the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:14) has its main focus and aim on offender rehabilitation and societal responsibility.

Additionally, in light of this study being concluded in South Africa, in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province, at the Durban-Westville Correctional Centre (female section), histories will be revealed into the development of the system of corrections in Kwa-Zulu Natal and that of the Durban-Westville Correctional Centre. The prescribed standard for correctional management on a national level is guided by the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998. With the rapid rise of the female inmate

population, observing that most females incarcerated are mothers, this chapter provides insight concerning the relationship between the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005), the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998, and that of incarcerated mothers.

Seeing that the White Paper is the envisioned embodiment for the system of corrections in South Africa, it is envisaged that as the chapter unfolds, revelations will be offered on its standpoint and the actual experiences of incarcerated mothers. Other aspects of fundamental influence include the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998, the Directives of the Department of Correctional Services (in particular the B-Order), and the Strategic Plan for the Department of Correctional Services.

South African literature available and studies conducted on this issue is limited (Vetten, 2008:134; Artz & Rotmann, 2015:3). However, a composite of the literature available shall be discussed by utilising thematic analysis to recognise and identify challenges experienced and to determine if similar challenges exist amongst incarcerated mothers in South Africa and the remaining continents projected in this study.

Chapter 3 of this research highlighted an international account of incarceration numbers and the countless challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers. Details regarding available statistics of the South African female inmate population, paying attention to maternal incarceration will be reviewed in this chapter.

4.2. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CORRECTIONAL POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA POST 1959

This section affords an overview regarding the histories of Correctional Services policies in South Africa since 1959. From the establishment of the Prison and Reformatories Act 13 of 1911 and its evolution into the White Paper on Corrections

in South Africa (2005), it is significant to note and understand the various legislations that have been promulgated over time and the reasons for the repealing and replacement of certain Correctional Services Acts or parts thereof. These policies stemmed from a system of apartheid and veered into a system of democracy. Further, the Department of Correctional Service's current stance will be discussed paying attention to the B-Order and the Department's service delivery plan.

4.2.1 The Correctional Services Act

The initial implementation of the Prison and Reformatories Act 13 of 1911 was replaced by the Prisons Act 8 of 1959. The 1911 legislation was unable to meet with the needs of how offenders were managed, their rehabilitation and treatment thereof. The Prisons Act 8 of 1959 supported the apartheid policy by enticing and encouraging the separation of the different races. Black inmates and white inmates were housed separately, and they were treated differently and fed different meals as well (Van Zyl Smit 1992:31). Political changes were transpiring from 1990 which impacted South Africa's penal system. Issues of race were eliminated. The Correctional Services Act of 1959 had come into power in 1991, repealing the Prisons Act of 1959 (Van Zyl Smit, 1992:40). Prison populations were integrated in 1993.

The advent of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1990 brought about the barring of the death penalty. Up until 1990, South Africa was a global leader in executions. By 1987, a total of 167 prisoners were hanged (Weschler & Manby, 1994:5). The Constitution advocated for a change in that the Department of Correctional Services shift its focus from its military set-up to a services department, and more humane treatment of its offenders, which included deskilling and reskilling its staff (Sloth-Neilsen 2005:4; Luyt, 2008b:177). Consequently, the Department of Correctional Services staff was stripped of their ranks and attires (Sloth-Neilsen 2005:4; Luyt, 2008b:177). The Government of South Africa formerly introduced the

White Paper on Corrections (1994), the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998, the White Paper on Corrections (2005), and the Correctional Services Amendment Acts (2008 and 2011).

The 2005 White Paper's focus is driven towards a societal responsibility and in the rehabilitation of the offender. When offenders are released, they are required to have sufficient skills and abilities which shall allow for their reintegration into society (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:14-15). The wording of the Correctional Services Amendment Act 25 of 2008 has been altered to more pleasant terms. Correctional Centres replaced the term prisons, inmates replaced the term prisoner and correctional officer replaced the term prison warden. Further, provisions were made for a variety of programmes aimed at rehabilitating offending behaviour (Republic of South Africa, 2008:5).

4.2.2 The B-Orders

In addition, the B-Order defines in detail the implementation and interpretation of the correctional regulations. They offer a descriptive operational execution of all actions responsible by the Department of Correctional Services. This is for ensuring consistency throughout their system (Muntingh, 2006:10). The following offers an insight into the Department's current standpoint on matters concerning rehabilitation programmes and health services offered at the correctional centre.

As per the B-Order, Sub-Order 5, Chapter 1, Section 1 (Department of Correctional Services, 2005b:20), the Department has to make provision for social and psychological interventions that aid in developing and supporting those incarcerated by encouraging and enhancing social adaptableness and mental health. Programmes pertaining to support and development must be offered by the Department to address such requirements for those incarcerated. It is imperative that these programmes satisfy the "special needs" of females by ensuring that incarcerated females are not placed in a situation of disadvantage. In instances of

where the Department is unable to provide any required programme as requested by an inmate, such services should be sought from alternate sources such as an appropriate agency.

Each female correctional centre is required to further afford health services specific and particular to female's needs and they should have the right of use to specialised interventions such as access to medical specialists, according to the B-Order, Sub-Order 3, Chapter 3, Section 9 (Department of Correctional Services, 2005c:233). Further, the Department of Correctional Services, in terms of the B-Order, Sub-Order 5, Chapter 1, Section 2 (Department of Correctional Services, 2005b:21) is necessitated to provide a psychological service that is needs based. Its aim is at improving and sustaining the mental well-being and emotional welfare of those incarcerated in order to develop their character and for being able to adapt socially.

4.2.3 The Strategic Plan

The Department of Correctional Services outlines their services provided in its Service Delivery Charter. Part of its strategic plan is to provide the following to its offenders based at the various correctional centres throughout South Africa (Department of Correctional Services, 2017:6; Department of Correctional Services, 2018:8),

- humane management,
- safekeeping,
- to provide effective care,
- education and skills orientated programmes,
- rehabilitative programmes,
- correctional programmes,
- reintegration programmes, as well as
- visits from family and friends.

Seeing that the Department has placed emphasis on rehabilitation, it's core focus is to provide rehabilitative programmes to offenders. In encouraging and upholding that corrections is a social responsibility as well, the Department recognises the vital and crucial role of faith-based entities within its rehabilitation framework. The Department's involvement with such bodies reinforces their commitment towards attaining successful re-entry of its offenders (Department of Correctional Services, 2018:9).

Additionally, correctional officers are at all times required to treat inmates with essential respect and dignity with an aim to develop inmates to practice law-abiding lives and to be productive upon their release (Department of Correctional Services, 2017:9).

4.3 SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PRISONISATION

Prior to South Africa being reorganised into nine provinces, there were only four provinces up until 1994. They were the Orange Free State, Natal the Cape Province and Transvaal (South African History Online, 2014). The discussion below offers insight into the historical development of the four provincial prison systems within South Africa and the British influences that dominated these penal systems. Particular attention will be given to Natal's prison system creation (Natal is now referred to as Kwa-Zulu Natal), paying attention to the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. In addition, penal treatment approaches will be discussed with a focus on the rehabilitation approach in view of rehabilitation being the central premise of the Department of Correctional Services.

4.3.1 The Cape Province

During Jan van Riebeeck's stay in the Cape of Good Hope, the punishment of offenders projected from 17th Century Dutch judicial practices. The punishment was brutal and carried out in view of the public. These judicial practices had an

influence on many aspects of penal matters in South Africa. Punishments ranged from bodily harm, public executions, and public crucifixion. Offenders were deported to Robben Island for manual labour. They were removed from societies that had no want of them or any care for the well-being (Van Zyl Smit, 1992:8).

Detention was only an option after the Fort and the Castle were established. People were being held for trivial misdemeanours which resulted in overcrowding within the detention centres. The penal structure was totally inadequate and a focus on rehabilitation was completely absent (Cilliers & Cole, 1997:111). Penal policies were starting to emerge and by 1834 in the Cape, came to the eradication of slavery. A pass system was subsequently developed which later featured as full-blown apartheid. For those who contravened the pass system, they were deemed to be prisoners (Singh, 2005:18). The State's role in providing unskilled black labour to the mining industry via penal institutions had become evident (Smit, 1992:8). In 1888 there was a shift to unify all penal systems into a singular system (Singh, 2005:18).

4.3.2 The Orange Free State

Within the Orange Free State province, low priority was afforded to its prison system or policy to govern it (Singh, 2005:19). Bloemfontein (Orange Free State) saw its initial prison in 1854. This grew to thirteen by 1873. Prison philosophy that was applied in Natal and the Cape was used here as well, since 1902, from the time of British occupancy. Prison environments were inadequate and severely lacking. Nothing much could be done to alleviate the situation as funds were lacking and South Africa was experiencing extreme poverty at that time (Cilliers & Cole, 1997:113). Prisoners endured life-threatening conditions and manual labour and if they did not adhere, they would be administered 25 lashes (Singh, 2005:20).

4.3.3 The Transvaal

By 1865, Pretoria had its first prison. By 1893, there were 33 prisons in Transvaal. The British practices were applied in Transvaal as well. By 1984, internal discipline practices were changed, and sole power was afforded to the local magistrate to try breaches of penal practices. He had the authority to inflict corporal punishment consisting of 25 lashes, sentence offenders with hard labour, impose a year of solitary confinement including no rations of up to a week. A main prison of Transvaal called the Fort exposed deficient conditions which required modifications. These changes stemmed the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1909 which created provisions aimed at unspecified imprisonment periods for hard labour prisoners and habitual criminals (Singh, 2005:20).

The early 20th-century prison system was mainly driven by its provincial authorities. Further, by the 1900's the British occupancy of the Orange Free State and Transvaal had influenced these prison systems greatly (Singh, 2005:20).

4.3.4 The Historical Development of Corrections in Kwa-Zulu Natal

Kwa-Zulu Natal has endured a transformation in its correctional system. With initially having no real prisons for housing offenders, to creating brick buildings and from the historic periods of corporal punishment to the current focus on offender rehabilitation and societal responsibility, it is evident that penal transformation has transpired (Singh, 2014:262).

4.3.4.1 Natal

The correctional centres in South Africa were developed against international trends. They were to house offenders, to meet with the aims of punitive measures and for the protection of society. In the years prior, there was no real prison in Natal. A brick building was initially established in 1849 with 10 communal cells for

housing inmates. This demand grew as the inmate population was rising. By 1907, 260 communal cells were available. Pietermaritzburg experienced numerous problems regarding accommodation of its offenders, but by 1863, it had its own prison. Initially, this prison had 25 cells but by 1907, 158 cells were available. By this period, Natal had established more than 35 prisons in the province (Cilliers & Cole, 1997:112-113).

Damaging and destructive conditions prevailed, overcrowding together with many prison system flaws. An issue was that of escaping offenders, those attempting to escape and having no offender classification system in place. Corporal punishment was rife coupled with whipping. Complaints regarding whipping was received and the cane had come into effect. There was no discussion on rehabilitation of the offender due to lacking knowledge on causes of crime and the prison system having inadequate services. A three-way class system of “European, African and Indian” was agreed to by the Government in 1887. By 1888, this structure was implemented against the inmate population. Subsequently, the segregation of the offenders had occurred. Prior to the Union of 1910, Natal had not experienced any substantial prison reform (Van Zyl Smit, 1992:18).

Since the last Century, and over the past few decades, much has been transformed in Natal regarding the correctional settings and its framework. Corporal punishment had been abolished due to it being in conflict with the Constitution. Knowledge has become available on crime causes and prison facilities are improving to enhance rehabilitation programmes and for the prevention of re-offending. Nevertheless, disturbing issues such as overcrowding and poor prison conditions hinder and impede the hard work that has been established for transformation in Natal (Singh, 2014:262).

South Africa now has nine provinces due to its transformation processes. Natal has undergone a name change. It's currently referred to as Kwa-Zulu Natal.

4.3.4.2 The Durban Westville Correctional Centre

Situated about 18km from the Durban Metropolitan district is the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. Kwa-Zulu Natal is home to 39 correctional centres and Durban is the biggest correctional centre in Kwa-Zulu Natal. It's one of the biggest correctional facilities available nationally and the stand-alone centre for Durban. The Durban Westville Correctional Centre was established in 1985. Prior to this, two small structures, called the Central Prison and Point Prison existed. Problems such as overcrowding were already evident. At the Point Prison, only sentenced maximum security offenders were housed. Sentenced and remand offenders were housed at the Central Prison. Central Prison was closely situated to a magistrate's court making it easily accessible (Singh, 2014:263).

Previous to these two existing prisons, a prison was located in Verulam called the Verulam Prison. This is the same prison that housed Mahatma Gandhi when he was detained for pass law infringements. Prisons of those times were usually close to hospitals or police stations because if assistance was needed, it was easily attainable. The first set of offenders started to occupy the Durban Westville Correctional Centre in June and July of 1985 (Singh, 2014:263).

Seeing that gang-related incidents were proving to be a challenge for prison officials, sections B housed the 28" prison gang members and section C detained the 26" prison gang members. The B section mostly housed inmates from the Point Prison as it was a maximum security prison. As a result, the initial two prisons, being the Point Prison and the Central Prison were gradually incorporated into the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. This correctional centre consists of five sections including a female correctional centre (Singh, 2014:263).

South Africa has a female inmate population of 3029 with Kwa-Zulu Natal housing 499 female inmates (Department of Correctional Services, 2014:29). The Durban Westville Correctional Centre houses 389 female inmates (Luyt, 2008:310). The

total inmate population managed by the correctional facility is about 12 500. Medical facilities are available at each correctional centre. Only Medium B is equipped to provide hospital facilities internally. The Durban Westville Correctional Centre was originally developed to house 6 000 offenders. Offenders serving lengthy sentences and long-term awaiting trial offenders are kept here. In South Africa, this correctional centre is amongst the largest enduring various modifications regarding incarceration and management of its offenders. This centre has also experienced large issues of overcrowding and related issues as has been endured by other correctional centres in South Africa (Singh, 2014:263).

In excess of 80% of females incarcerated at Durban Westville Correctional Centre have endured highly traumatic backgrounds including emotional, physical and sexual abuse received from men. Most of the females kept here have been incarcerated for murdering the abusive men in their lives; their intimate partners, fathers or even pimps. Female inmates at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre are mostly worried and depressed, rendering them inactive. They mostly have concerns over their children, reinforcing their feelings of helplessness and grief (Young-Jahangeer, 2003:101-102).

4.4 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF VARIOUS TREATMENT APPROACHES AT CORRECTIONAL CENTRES IN SOUTH AFRICA

New approaches for the treatment of offenders are marked by eagerness and interest in its initial stages and disappointment when the approach fails. Then substitute approaches and models of treatment are put into practice and so is the process. For over 260 years, numerous approaches have been applied for improvement and rehabilitation of offenders. There is no single treatment framework that works conclusively. The aim of punishment has moved from a punitive to a more rehabilitative model. In contemporary times, there are various treatment approaches that have been implemented; some of them include; the medical approach, the re-integrational approach, the warehousing approach and

the rehabilitation approach. Each approach was developed based on its principal aims and each approach had differing physical designs, policies and programmes (Singh, 2014:264-265).

4.4.1 The Medical Model

Developed in the 1920s the Medical Model was initiated by the United States of America and viewed the offender as a “diseased person”. It was premised that offenders were unable to manage their behaviours due to their illness and that misconduct was due to this disease encountered (Cilliers, 1998:25). It was argued that the most ideal place for treatment of the offender had to be within a prison. Various skillsets of psychiatrists, educators, psychologists, religious preachers, and social workers formed the basis of the treatment team for offenders. The acceptance of this approach declined in the 1960s as treatment did not curb re-offending. South Africa as well, dabbled with such a treatment approach in the 1970s (Cilliers & Cole, 1997:128).

4.4.2 The Reintegration Model

The Reintegration Model is based on the principle that offenders issues originated in a community; hence they require being solved by the community. Therefore, communities are liable for affording opportunities’ to the offender for being non-criminal people. That sufficient contact with the community is vital for their success of re-integration. The Department of Correctional Services in South Africa has the following view, “The period of incarceration should be used to nurture and rebuild the relationships between the offender, the community, and society at large. The Department intends using the term “after-care” to describe its services aimed at promoting the effective social integration of offenders back into their communities of origin” (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:14). Hence a vital aspect of rehabilitation is social reintegration. The aim of correctional centres in South Africa is to create successful rehabilitation approaches which produce persons who are

skilled for work opportunities and are able to positively re-integrate into their communities as non-criminals (Singh, 2014:267).

4.4.3 The warehousing approach – An overcrowding era

High re-offending and tales of offenders who committed heinous acts being released back into their communities, led to enormous public frustrations and dissatisfactions during the 1970s and 1980s. This restricted liberal characteristics of work and educational release programmes (Schmalleger, 1997:450). High re-offending rates reinforced the need to warehouse offenders. It was seen as an incarceration measure to curb re-offending however expectations of rehabilitation would prove futile. This approach is still applied in many parts of the globe. In countries like South Africa, Britain and America, overcrowding is still pretty much a problem, a current issue. Warehousing is an approach due to overcrowding. This approach is supported by many although populations in correctional centres are rapidly rising (Schmalleger, 1997:453).

4.4.4 The rehabilitation approach

In South Africa, The White Paper (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:39) emphasises the vision of the Department of Correctional Services as the department is seen as a world leader in delivering correctional services. By *“placing rehabilitation at the centre of all Departmental activities in partnerships with external stakeholders, through:*

- The integrated application and direction of all Departmental resources to focus on the correction of offending behaviour, the promotion of social responsibility and the overall development of the person under correction,
- The cost-effective provision of correctional facilities that will promote security, correction, care and development services within an enabling human rights environment,

- Progressive and ethical management and staff practices within which every correctional official performs an effective correcting and encouraging role.

4.4.4.1 The rehabilitation approach - Durban Westville Correctional Centre

The Durban Westville Correctional Centre has formed partnerships with various associations. These associations attempt to eliminate crime by generating rehabilitation programmes. Khulisa and the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders are such associations. Khulisa oversees “My Path”, a programme offered to offenders who have two years left of their sentence. The programme involves several methods to enhance behaviour changes and attain skills development. In addition, Khulisa prepares offenders for positive reintegration by assisting them with employment in Khulisa or with other potential employers upon their release. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders conducts courses such as the “Tough Enough” course which is aimed at offenders who have less than six months to finish their sentence. The course aims to offer support to offenders and to seek opportunities that enhance reintegration (Singh, 2014:270). Positive reintegration is the main focus of South Africa’s correctional system.

In 2005, a report was undertaken by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre on corrections on its services. Findings at the female correctional centre included (Parliamentary Portfolio Committee, 2005: Section D):

- It was noted that sentencing frameworks regarding female offending require a review as most homes break down when females are incarcerated. Frequently, many children are placed with pensioner parents which creates various issues,
- It was further proposed that the Department engages a panel to assess inmates regarding their stages of rehabilitation,

- Most of the inmates re-offend, because of a lack of post-release programmes.

Such finding corroborates with incarcerated females requiring special post-release programmes, the efficiency of rehabilitation processes require examination, and that anarchy and chaos prevail in households whilst mothers are incarcerated. As per the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services, 2005, incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre share similar experiences and angsts that other incarcerated mothers the world over experience as demonstrated in the previous chapter.

4.4.4.2 The rehabilitation approach – Challenges experienced at Durban Westville Correctional Centre

An array of programmes is presented at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. Programmes include religious care, life skills, training and work programmes, diversity, substance abuse, sexual offences programmes, re-entry programmes, aggressive offences programmes, reading programmes, psychological care, court readiness, educational programmes, social work services and sports and recreation (Singh, 2014:271; Department of Correctional Services 2005:69; Department of Correctional Services, 2012:13; Gillingham, 2001:5).

The “Tough Enough Programme” conducted by the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders is guided by the principle that transformation is brought about in individuals via generating an ethos that encourages a sense of accountability in them. It encourages offenders to be accountable for their deeds and to be responsible for their lives and that of their families. On release, offenders receive support for six to nine months subject to an offender’s improvement (Mpuang, 2000:5; Ndiike, 2014:49).

In a study by Singh in 2012 interviews were held with offenders at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre, with previously incarcerated offenders at a Department of Correctional Services off-site office based in Durban and with the staff of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders at their offices based in Durban as well. The study revealed that offenders, upon release were mostly homeless which resulted in them re-offending and re-entering the correctional centre as they were provided with shelter, food, water and clothing for free within the correctional environment. Facilitators of the course revealed that offenders were mostly closed up and in fear of disclosing their sensitive information thinking it would deter their parole opportunities (Singh, 2014:272).

Further offenders revealed having not so healthy approaches and attitudes with service contractors from Department of Correctional Services as opposed to service contractors or providers from the Non-Governmental Organisations. Offenders felt that Non-Governmental Organisations' service providers afford them care and respect and are not negatively inclined towards them as are the Department of Correctional Services service providers. Offenders select whom they can open up to based on how they are being perceived. Yet internal service providers felt they are closed up. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders felt that inmates had mostly high and unrealistic expectations expecting them to find them jobs, shelter, provide funds or assist in starting businesses for them upon their release. Effective rehabilitation can only be attained via interventions that can alter or modify attitudes, conduct and social conditions (Singh, 2014:272).

At the Durban Westville Correctional Centre, female Section, the Journey Outreach programme was inceptioned in 2006, and thereafter in the country. The aim of the project is to present female inmates with a thorough rehabilitation programme in order to reduce reoffending and that when these females are released they are prepared with necessary life skills to re-enter society and reintegrate with their

children and families after their release. While such projects are undertaken, the application of them is somewhat stalled due to human capital, funding and the centre housing a large number of offenders (Singh, 2014:273).

4.5 A CORRECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON MOTHERHOOD

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) provides the guidance required by the Department of Correctional Services to attain its vision and mission by supporting and encouraging transformation processes. A total transformation from a previous system riddled with punitive measures to the current system of rehabilitation. Further, the White Paper offers insight into offender rehabilitation and reintegration measures and standards adopted to achieve such measures. The paper acknowledges that shortfalls in correctional policies, the world over stem from regarding all offenders as uniform, resulting in correctional methods being practiced to suit the majority of offenders who are male as there are other categories of offenders who do not encompass the majority. Categories include elderly inmates, inmates with lengthy or life sentences, inmates with mental illnesses, female inmates, and first-time inmates, detained inmates who are foreign nationals, children in detention and inmates with disabilities (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:82; Department of Correctional Services, 2012:16).

Section 11.4 of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:81) outlines the special needs of females. Literature reviewed widely demonstrates that mothers constitute the bulk of the female offending population and that the propensity for inter-generational crime is robust the world over (Mcquaide & Ehrenreich, 1998:236; Agboola, 2014:52; Henry, 2015:6), therefore it would be easy to construe that the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) would afford an in-depth analysis into challenges experienced by mothers, measures to mitigate such challenges and standards to adopt for successful reintegration of incarcerated mothers. Nevertheless, the paper

affords two paragraphs to this special category i.e., paragraph 11.4.1 and paragraph 11.4.4 (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:81).

Section 11.4.1

“As in other countries, female offenders also constitute only a small proportion of the incarcerated offender population in South Africa. One major disadvantage is that, because there are fewer female correctional centres, they are often forced to be further away from their families than men. The Department has an obligation to incarcerate female offenders as close to home as possible, in order to minimise the negative impact on family life, especially if they are mothers. As far as it is practicable, the Department should provide a women’s unit in each and every correctional institution”.

Section 11.4.4

“Over and above the mother and child units, incarcerated mothers of small children who are not in a correctional centre with their mothers, require particular access to their mothers as a necessary step to reduce the negative effect of the separation from the mother that may occur and to prepare for the eventual release of the mother. The provision of an appropriate environment for such visits to occur that will aid in fostering the mother-child relationship, is important. Professional child-care workers and social workers must provide such services to mothers and children”.

Within these two paragraphs, two thoughts are reflected on mothers; one being that mothers are incarcerated long distances from home and a combat strategy would be to create female units in every correctional centre across the country. Secondly, the establishment of positive mother and child relationships and its plan is to provide an appropriate environment for visits and its professional support staff to aid in the fostering process of this relationship.

4.6 MOTHERS BEHIND BARS – A SOUTH AFRICAN OUTLOOK

The literature discussion thus far addressed the development of South African correctional policies, the development of its system of corrections, the development of corrections in Kwa-Zulu Natal with attention focused on the Durban Westville Correctional Centre, the various approaches to treatment in South Africa's correctional facilities, the shortfalls of rehabilitative and re-integrational programmes conducted at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre including the stance of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) regarding incarcerated mothers. The following discussion of the literature available pertains specifically to challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers relating to childcare in South Africa and to conclude this chapter; specific challenges endured by released mothers will be outlined.

The aim of this section is to highlight statistics regarding the female inmate population of South Africa. Specific attention shall be afforded to mothers incarcerated who were their children's primary caretakers prior to their incarceration.

4.6.1 Female incarceration in South Africa

South Africa maintains one of the largest correctional systems globally (Vetten, 2008:135). In particular, the percentage of the female inmate population is small when contrasted to that of the international arena (Luyt, 2008a:300). However, the female inmate population witnessed a 68% increase between 1995 and 2003 in South Africa (Vetten, 2008:136). By 2007 women comprised 2.1% of the total inmate population (Luyt 2008a:304; Department of Correctional Services, 2008:4). The Briefing Paper 352 on Mothers and Babies in Incarceration (2014) maintains that although the female inmate population remains lower than the male inmate population, the quantity of female offenders has considerably grown to that of 5 000 with many having drug associated charges (Law, 2014:1).

Seeing that females are the minority within the incarcerated population, females have limited correctional centres available as is for their male counterparts. South Africa contains a total of 242 correctional facilities and of these only 8 are designated as female's facilities, with 72 of those that contain a separate attachment or a section to accommodate females (Haffejee, Vetten & Greyling, 2006:1; Law 2014:1; Department of Correctional Services, 2012:32).

The bulk of female inmates are housed in congested and overcrowded correctional centres. Out of the 8 correctional centres available for females, the capacity levels against six of them reported significant overcrowding; Pretoria, Worcester, Thohoyandou, Johannesburg, Durban and Pollsmoor (Judicial Inspectorate for Correctional Services, 2011:30; Law, 2014:1; Department of Correctional Services, 2012:32). Overcrowding is one of the issues experienced by incarcerated mothers; nevertheless, they experience a myriad of further issues relating to childcare.

4.6.2 Incarcerated mothers in South Africa

Female incarceration and maternal incarceration are linked and share a connection as research construes that the mainstream of female offenders is mothers (Luyt, 2008a:311; Haffejee *et al*, 2006:3; Law, 2014:1). Amidst the low figures for female offending, the percentage of mothers incarcerated remains high. About 70% of females within correctional settings are mothers (Luyt, 2008a:311). The overwhelming majority of females incarcerated are mothers with 83% having at least one child (Haffejee *et al*, 2006:3). A study by Law (2014:1) carried out in the Western Cape, reveals that over 70% of females in correctional settings are mothers and almost 50% of them had their first child prior to them turning 20 years of age. Many incarcerated mothers were responsible for her child's upkeep before her being incarcerated and whilst incarcerated discover the difficulty of maintaining relationships with their children (Law, 2014:3).

4.7 CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED RELATING TO CHILD CARE DURING INCARCERATION

The literature review in this section is drawn from a South African context, with aims of exposing challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers. Incarcerated mothers endure a variety of challenges which are inclusive of food issues, overcrowding, health care, hygiene, and sanitary supplies, educational conditions, lack of exercise and recreation, access to reading materials, the absence of contact with the outside world and occupational conditions whilst working within the correctional centre. Each of these challenges has been noted throughout the studies of (Agaboola, 2016) and a policy brief undertaken by the Gender Health and Justice Research Unit, University of Cape Town (GHJRU, 2012).

However, this discussion aims to outline her challenges experienced relating to child care whilst incarcerated. Once challenges have been identified within a South African context, the research aims to compare these challenges experienced in South Africa against those experienced at an international level. The themes which were used to identify challenges on an international level will be applied to the national level as well. This method enables the national research to draw comparable conclusions against the other continents. Whilst limited literature is available on a global level (Easterling, 2012; Clark, 1995; Stanley & Byrne, 2000; Shankardass, 2014; Enos, 2001), in South Africa, very limited studies have been undertaken (Vetten, 2008:134; Artz & Rotmann, 2015:3).

4.7.1 Feelings of depression and despair

Seeing that most female offenders are mothers, it has been revealed that the most challenging for these females is the separation from their children (Gowland, 2011:8; Artz, Hoffman-Wanderer & Moul, 2012:68; Agboola, 2014:51; Qhogwana, 2017:123; Luyt, 2008a:321). Incarceration coupled with the separation from her children creates room for illnesses (both emotional, and physical), psychological

issues as well as mental issues. These factors impact negatively upon the incarcerated mother which results from the failure of being unable to perform one's role and functions as a mother (Gowland, 2011:8).

Being away from their children regardless of the duration could be a very worrying and traumatic experience for the incarcerated mother. They have to make difficult choices as to where to place their children whilst they serve the term of incarceration. Children are mostly placed with individuals in the family. This, in turn, causes and creates great fear and stress within incarcerated mothers as they feel that their children will forget them whilst they are incarcerated (Gowland, 2011:13). Mothers feel guilt-ridden about not spending sufficient time at her child's side before she was incarcerated. This is suggestive that an incarcerated mother sees herself as being an unsuccessful mother who has failed due to her neglect concerning her children and they really want to make up for that. This results in further sufferings and pains for the incarcerated mother and she is so consumed by guilt and grief (Gowland, 2011:26).

This separation deepens the pain and anguish experienced whilst incarcerated. Incarcerated mothers have a deep concern regarding their wrongful actions and the consequences of incarceration which has impacted severely not only on their families but particularly their children. Apart from their misconduct, they feel they have let them down as well due to the separation. They feel helpless due to their incarceration and at being unable to care for and protect their children. This results in a large amount of shame (Artz *et al*, 2012:68). The experience of separation and isolation from their children creates difficulties and fears for maintaining and retaining their maternal ties (Artz *et al*, 2012:416). This sense of isolation and guilt is compounded by the frustrations and blame felt because of this separation and the inability to care for her children (Agboola, 2014:51).

Incarcerated mothers experience further frustrations as a result of helplessness when they are not able to assist their children from problem type behaviour. Their

plights are revealing of the pain and hurt they feel because as mothers they are physically not there to aid their children. Incarcerated mothers are at conflict with their identity as being mothers. They know they are mothers yet can't be physically present (Qhogwana, 2017:123).

Based on the findings present inside the South African framework, it is thoroughly evident that incarcerated mothers endure strong feelings of depression and despair which results from the separation of them and their children.

4.7.2 An absence of support

A support system, inclusive of a spouse, parents, children and even siblings is vital for positive rehabilitation and reintegration of an incarcerated mother (James, 2016:129). Whilst incarcerated, correctional centre support is of paramount importance, for in its absence, incarcerated mothers challenges are heightened.

Luyt (2008a:323) maintains that a lack of correctional support is rather evident. Although the Department of Correctional Services has close to 10000 females within its employ, doubts exist as to whether they are able to provide adequate services for incarcerated mothers.

Gowland's study (2011:30) indicates that a social worker within the correctional system revealed that he had inspected cases of neglect where children were placed with caregivers. The social worker maintained that the correctional system had many added worries and concerns and was unable to inspect the existing conditions of all children. This lack of correctional centre support for incarcerated mother's children whilst she away adds to her challenges experienced. Knowing that her children are being checked upon would reduce the mother's worries about them.

In the Pathways Project (2012), incarcerated mothers noted that correctional nurses were unable to display empathy and concern regarding their health. Health care staffs were mostly unavailable indicating that the correctional setting increases an incarcerated mother's challenge by their lack of support, whilst waiting to be attended to. Should an incarcerated mother be feeling depressed or in a state of despair, she is asked to make use of the "Complaints and Requests" process for attaining help. For medical assistance, these mothers are referred to their case officers (Artz *et al*, 2012:3).

James (2016:152) found that incarcerated mothers could not understand the conduct of correctional staff as they were mostly "moody and unpredictable". Correctional conduct aiding effective rehabilitation processes were not being met with.

4.7.3 Concerns regarding their children

A Special Rapporteur on Prisons and Conditions of Detention in Africa detailed that "prisons are not a safe place for pregnant women, babies, and young children and it is not advisable to separate babies and young children from their mother" (Atoki, 1999:6). With keeping this in mind, the inevitable process of incarceration results in the division of an incarcerated mother and her child. This process of incarceration adversely impacts on children's lives and the presence of these adverse effects, present further challenges to an incarcerated mother. Most children are left without a parent's care when their mothers are incarcerated as it's their mothers who mostly care for them. Changes in their lives include school changes, a loss of companions and separation from family and siblings. All these force children to become isolated from their support networks. Their stability and security are uprooted. Children are forced to quit schooling as their substitute carers are not able to afford the school fees required (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17).

Luyt (2008a:318) expands on this point that communication and interaction with family have vital importance and significance to child development. He maintains that motherly contact creates the cornerstone of childhood development in its early stages. In his findings, Luyt discovered that issues experienced included violent and anti-social conduct, sleeping troubles, eating difficulties and misbehaviour (Luyt, 2008a:320). Irrespective of children's age groups, interaction, and associations with family members are critical components for healthy development (Luyt, 2008a:319).

The latter study of Agboola (2014) maintains that children often feel anger, bitterness and resentful emotions. Mental health issues, aggression, truancy, substance abuse, and poor school performance, are some of the developmental issues that these children endure as a consequence of their pain and anguish suffered due to the separation from their mothers. It is envisaged that there are greater chances that these children will be incarcerated themselves. (Agboola, 2014:52).

Incarceration of mothers is reminiscent and indicative of being a contributing factor for misconduct in children. This is suggestive of recidivism and a "phenomenon of inter-generational crime" (Henry, 2015:6). Law (2014:3) indicates that a child's discernment and understanding of time is not the same as is experienced by adults. These results in children feeling "abandoned" coupled with the "social stigma" of having to endure maternal incarceration. When mothers endure incarceration, it's their children who are left behind and this has substantial negative consequences for children's mental and social well-being. These effects on an incarcerated mother's child can never be overemphasised. The recent research of Qhogwana (2017:123) reveals the effects of maternal incarceration as having devastating consequences on the lives of their children.

As discussed, the available literature demonstrates that whilst mothers are incarcerated, their children are exposed to many social ills, mental health issues,

aggressive behaviours, and poor school performance. Children's challenges experienced on the outside compounds on their mother's challenges experienced on the inside. In addition to these challenges regarding her children, mothers are concerned, anxious and worried with issues that emanate from substitute caring whilst she is away.

4.7.4 Inefficiencies of substitute caring

Whilst incarcerated, mothers have to make tough decisions on where to place their children. They usually have three choices. To leave them with extended family members, leave them in state care or foster care and thirdly to just abandon them hoping they would be able to fend for themselves whilst away. Outside conditions normally indicate what will happen to these children irrespective of their mother's choice (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17; Gowland, 2011:23; Luyt, 2008a:316).

Schoeman (2011:84) indicates that mothers find it challenging to attain substitute caring. They may seek assistance from family; however, such arrangements could be "problematic" especially when an incarcerated mother was the sole supporter and provider of her family members as well. The external family support system is broken and it's challenging to find a family who is able to care for an incarcerated mother's child. Caregivers may not understand these children, nor are they equipped in offering aid to traumatised children (Gowland, 2011:23; Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17).

Children further endure rape and physical abuse and have reported cases of neglect whilst in another's care during their mother's incarceration period (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:26; Vetten, 2008:139). Children who unable to be cared for by relatives are placed in foster homes with some being adopted as well. The lives of these children will change dramatically due to such factors (Law, 2014:3).

Literature (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17; Gowland, 2011:23; Law, 2014:3; Schoeman, 2011:84) indicates that substitute caring presents many challenges as family systems are broken, carers are not adequately equipped to meet with the requirements of children, children endure various abuses and financial constraints are present. It can be deduced that substitute caring contributes further to the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers for she is concerned for her children's living arrangements in her absence. Amidst these challenges experienced, incarcerated mothers require a bonding process to ensue between her children and herself as this is a vital link in maintaining a healthy mother and child relationship. Literature (Qhogwana, 2017; Haffejee *et al*, 2006; Luyt, 2008a; Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001; Vetten, 2008) will further demonstrate the reality of such a process.

4.7.5 Limited Opportunities for Bonding

Contact with one's children and family on the outside is vital and the most important form of support and bonding for the incarcerated mother. Visits are beneficial and positive and create assurance for their children that their "mother is still alive". Visits may offer hugs and face to face communication which creates an opportunity for children to discuss their challenges experienced with their mothers (Qhogwana, 2017:68). Haffejee *et al*, (2006) conclude that one-third of incarcerated mothers received no visit from her children from the inception of her sentence and only one-tenth of incarcerated mothers received a visit from their child only one time for the duration of an entire year (Haffejee *et al*, 2006:3). Luyt (2008a:319) reiterates such findings and concludes that 95% of incarcerated mothers revealed losing contact and interactions with their children from the inception of her sentence.

Contact in South Africa's correctional system can be maintained via visits, letters, and phone calls (Luyt, 2008a:318; Artz *et al*, 2012:52; Agboola, 2014:118). Gowland (2011:13) confers that the major issue endured by incarcerated mothers

is the absence of interaction with her children and the only way to combat this is to have communication with their children.

Another major issue that impacts incarcerated mothers and their bonding processes with their children is the location of where they are incarcerated. Men can be housed closer to their homes as more correctional centres are available for them. Females, on the other hand, are based long distances away from home as there are only 8 designated correctional centres for females. Because there are so few female correctional centres, females are kept far from their homes and families (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17; Artz et al, 2012:11; Luyt, 2008a:319; Fontebo, 2013:63-64; Agboola, 2014:122). These studies indicate that distance from home creates physical distances between an incarcerated mother and her children which have various implications, including transport availability, the price of transport and the substitute carer's readiness to being able to accompany dependent children to visit with their mothers.

Vetten (2008:140) reinforces Bhana and Hochfeld's (2001:17) finding by maintaining that in view of the limited number of female correctional facilities available, many mothers are incarcerated distances from their homes as well as support systems and the visiting rooms available have little effect for promoting favourable mother and child relationships. Luyt (2008a) cites that reasons for non-visits included high transport costs and hostility from the Department of Correctional Services officials (Luyt, 2008a:319). Taking into account limited visitations, 83 % of incarcerated mothers describe having enforced relationships with their children rather than regular normal relationships. Further, the majority of mothers (64%) felt they shared cold relationships with their children (Luyt, 2008a:320).

Studies (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17; Luyt, 2008a:320; Artz et al, 2012:51) indicate and reveal the quantity of time an incarcerated mother and her children actually spend together. Forty minutes are allocated for a total time to visit. In reality, this

total time is regularly lessened to afford additional people the chance to have a visit. This visit can be cut even shorter, depending on the category of offender group, the incarcerated mother is assigned.

For incarcerated mothers who manage to retain communication with her children, correctional facility visits were unable to provide an essential atmosphere or the necessary time sufficient for a mother and her children to bond. Mothers and children don't have sufficient facilities to play together during visits even in circumstances where physical contact may be allowed (Haffejee et al, 2006:3). Mothers feel that their visits could be enhanced and made better by permitting them to transpire in a 'more normal' setting, by letting mothers together with her children to play on the grassy areas, which at present is forbidden (Artz et al, 2012:52).

Some incarcerated mothers don't have contact numbers of where their children are living or enough cash to purchase phone cards to make calls to her children. (Gowland, 2011:31; Artz et al, 2012:52). The more recent study of Law (2014) strengthens the findings of the past decade by indicating the long trips endured as a contributor for a lack of visits. Visits are challenging and costly coupled with the major distance involved between an incarcerated mother and her children (Law, 2014:3). As a result, maintaining close ties is difficult and in many circumstances, many incarcerated mothers lose relationships with their children as correctional centres are hostile and gloomy locations to visit and the environment is particularly harsh on children (Law, 2014:3)

Literature (Artz *et al*, 2012; Law, 2014; Luyt, 2008a; Gowland, 2011; Haffejee *et al*, 2006; Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001) cited on the bonding process's between an incarcerated mother and her children indicates further her challenges experienced. Bonding processes are restricted and inadequate which stem from long trips, costs associated, challenging correctional environments, caregivers availability to accompany dependent children and limited times available to bond. Research

indicates contrary to the standpoint of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:81) which infers that correctional facilities encourage visitations on a faithful and natural basis between an incarcerated mother and her children.

Incarcerated mothers have to endure innumerable challenges as has been exposed and discussed. It has to be noted that central to the process of incarceration, lays the premise of rehabilitation as outlined in the White Paper.

4.7.6 Shortfall of rehabilitation programmes offered at Correctional Centre's

For the benefit of creating a better understanding on the treaty of rehabilitation in South Africa, the following citation has been outlined to emphasise and highlight the Governments standpoint on rehabilitation mechanisms provided at the various South African Correctional Centres.

4.7.6.1 Defining Rehabilitation and Corrections

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:38) explains and outlines its basis and concept towards rehabilitation as follows; sections, 4.2.1; 4.2.2; 4.2.3; and 4.2.4:

Rehabilitation is the result of a process that combines the correction of offending behaviour, human development and the promotion of social responsibility and values. It is a desired outcome of processes that involve both departmental responsibilities of Government and social responsibilities of the nation. Rehabilitation should be viewed not merely as a strategy to preventing crime, but rather as a holistic phenomenon incorporating and encouraging:

- social responsibility,
- social justice,
- active participation in democratic activities,

- empowerment with life-skills and other skills, as well as
- a contribution to making South Africa a better place to live in.

Rehabilitation is achieved through the delivery of key services to offenders, including both correction of the offending behaviour and the development of the human being involved. The correction of offending behaviour and development are two separate, but linked responsibilities. Rehabilitation is achieved through interventions to change attitudes, behaviour and social circumstances. The desired outcome is rehabilitation and the promotion of social values and responsibility. Within the Departmental environment, rehabilitation is best facilitated through a holistic sentence planning process that engages the offenders at all levels – social, moral, spiritual, physical, work, educational/intellectual and mental. It is premised on the approach that every human being is capable of change and transformation if offered the opportunity and resources.

These are the principal key factors which establish the framework on rehabilitation of offenders, inclusive of incarcerated mothers in South Africa. The following discussion intends to establish the effectiveness of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) regarding rehabilitation interventions and whether it achieves and attains its desired mandate. South Africa has inadequate literature regarding the rehabilitation of offenders (Singh, 2016:1). Although literature available on this topic is limited, every effort will be made to shed light on the matter of rehabilitation for incarcerated mothers within a correctional environment.

De Wet (2005:147) indicated that the qualities of induction programmes at correctional centres were “inconsistently presented” if they were actually offered. It has been indicated that quality induction programmes may generate a healthier attitude towards incarceration. This results in more positive methods of adapting to the correctional centre. Buhlungu, Daniel, Southall & Lutchman (2007:390) pointed out that the conditions of overcrowding, its deficiencies’ in re-entry services, pitiable settings offered, and poor health care, reveals that the system of

corrections in South Africa is facing strong weaknesses in achieving compliance with its designated obligations.

Gowland (2011:33) revealed a lack of “communal support” from within the correctional facility. Incarcerated mothers did not have anyone to go to, or to even discuss their challenges experienced. This is indicative that the Department of Correctional Services need to create “therapy and support” groups for incarcerated mothers seeing that the department recognises itself with rehabilitation as its central core. Rehabilitation is futile if an incarcerated mother is continuously riddled by concerns and anguishes regarding her children. In essence of rehabilitation, the department is required to administer expert and skilled support towards their emotional well-being as well.

Artz et al (2012:4) indicate that incarcerated mothers in South Africa are in dire need of services from the Department of Correctional Services. Access to a psychologist is “severely lacking”. Social workers at the correctional centres make referrals for a psychologist intervention and most mothers have to appeal for this service themselves. The study was carried out at two correctional centres and exposed that in one of them; only one psychologist was available, twice a week to address matters of 200 females. At the other correctional centre, a social worker addressed matters of counselling as no psychologist was available. Further, the social worker is tasked with admission administration, counselling services and conducts rehabilitation interventions for 240 females. Incarcerated mothers endured issues relating to “mental health emergencies” which were inclusive of extreme depression and feelings of taking their own lives.

Artz *et al*, (2012:235) contend that male offenders are prepared for work opportunities once they are released for they receive training for carpentry or mechanics, however, this is rarely the case for females. The lack of skills development programmes for females creates female dependency on men upon their release. Mothers won't be able to attain gainful employment and this is

unacceptable in its own right noting that females' histories of abuse are often inflicted by men.

James (2016:114) inferred that the skills programmes offered to females, who are mostly mothers are gender orientated. The skills offered are not largely required once they are released. Such skills included being employed at clothing factories however this form of trade is failing as the industry is dwindling. Rehabilitation programmes are more likely to be positive if they are combined with preparation and work prospects. Further, incarcerated mothers are paid about R2 a day, subject to the kind of work they perform within the correctional environment. With this kind of a limited wage, mothers are unable to send funds home or even save a bit for their re-entry. Females feel "pressurised" to engage in the rehabilitation programmes offered at the Correctional Centres as this was a parole board prerequisite.

Programmes offered were not beneficial for its learners, but merely a token to present to the parole officers. The occupational skills programmes offered were not constant or a stable programme. It depended on the availability of personnel to conduct such programmes (James, 2016:121). Incarcerated mothers questioned the value and worth about such programmes which were intended for them that were being presented at the correctional centres. A majority of participants in James study conferred that programmes like anger management were the least encouraging and or beneficial as they could not understand the details of this course (James, 2016:144).

It is clearly evident from this literature review (De Wet, 2005; Buhlungu *et al*, 2007; Gowland, 2011; Artz *et al*, 2012; James, 2016) that the department is facing serious struggles in maintaining its mandate as outlined in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) relating to rehabilitation. Regarding the correcting of offending behaviour and promoting human development, by implementing constructive rehabilitation programmes, the department seems to be

failing. Rather programmes that are presented are seen as mere tokens for parole board hearings, courses rendered are not practical for seeking employment after release or the course content is not comprehensible. In addition, mental health issues, therapy, and support initiatives are being ignored resulting in a non-holistic human development which is contradictory with the core principles of the rehabilitation movement.

The discussion is based on a collection of national studies that make reference to the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers. As is painfully evident, incarcerated mothers endure various challenges relating to childcare whilst incarcerated. They are not limited to feelings of depression and despair, an absence of support, limited opportunities for bonding, concerns regarding their children, inefficiencies of substitute caring, and the shortfall of rehabilitation programmes offered to them whilst incarcerated. An incarcerated mothers challenges continue post-release as will be highlighted in the next section.

4.7.7 Challenges of reintegration

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005), paragraph 9.13 outlines reintegration as (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:71);

“The preparation for the social integration of offenders commences upon their admission into the care of the Department of Correctional Services and continues throughout the time that they are under the care of the Department. The social integration of offenders will also be an ongoing and important part of their Correctional Sentence Plan. It is this approach to the social reintegration of offenders that will inform the Department’s policy on regulation of offenders:

- written communication,
- telephonic communication,
- visits with family, friends and loved ones,

- contact with social institutions from their communities of origin,
- access to information about the world outside via newspapers, television, and radio”.

The Department of Correctional Services is guided by the principles of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005). The Government sees reintegration as an important stride of the rehabilitation process. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (Department of Correctional Services, 2005:71) reveals that the process of reintegration commences at the point of incarceration and not release.

Literature (Artz *et al*, 2012:75; Haffejee *et al*, 2006:2) highlighted indicates that mothers endured challenges prior to her incarceration and it is these challenges that mostly resulted in her incarceration. As a result, from being a mother, she becomes an incarcerated mother. Thereafter her challenges whilst incarcerated were reviewed, both globally and nationally. It was evident that the process and outcomes of incarceration have overwhelming and shocking effects on incarcerated mothers and their relationships with their children. Once her sentence is over and she leaves the confines of the correctional centre, an incarcerated mother traverses to a released mother.

The following discussion aims to uncover the realities of reintegration as experienced by a released mother and the degree of correctional support she receives. Luyt (2008a:317) confers that challenges continue even after her release as released mothers are not able to redeem relationships with their children once they are free from the precincts of correctional centres. The study indicates that even short-term incarceration of a mother can result in the permanent division with her children in South Africa. Many mothers have experienced that if their children were left in state care, then it proved to be almost impossible to recover custody of her children. Such issues upon her re-entry add to the challenges experienced by the released mother.

Agboola (2014, 51-52) cites that a released mother's return is often aligned with substantial family chaos and upheaval, especially where her children are involved. Agboola further expounds that released mothers had to endure tough decision making whilst incarcerated relating to the upkeep of her children as she was aware that upon release she may lose her children. Due to such reasons mothers sometimes abandoned their children instead of placing them in state care. Upon her release, she is excited to be reunited with her children, not fully aware of the turmoil her children have experienced. Upon her return, children are riddled with feelings of abandonment and don't know how to respond once their mothers are released. They may have transferred affections for their mother to their caregiver whilst their mother was incarcerated.

Henry (2015:6) indicates that released mothers have to continue being a parent and this poses great challenges. Her children endure "deep-seated" problems and have issues with accepting her back into their lives. Further, access to work is challenging, state support is unattainable, and a lack of support services remains major difficulties for released mothers.

Singh (2016:5) highlights issues regarding reintegration and correctional support. Various reintegration issues are experienced "due mainly to the fact that DCS does not have a strong focus on post-release support services for ex-offenders". At the point of re-entry, many released mothers experience financial and societal challenges. These include societal stigma, unemployment, and homelessness. This helplessness exposes them to re-offend. The Department of Correctional Services has no tactic to manage reintegration. The Department is accountable for rehabilitation; however, this only takes place within the confines of the correctional environment. Once released, support received whether "rehabilitative or reintegrative" ceases. "Effective reintegration should be the main aim of the correctional system". Reintegration support should extend across the correctional centres or else they will become "revolving doors".

James (2016:82) indicates that released mothers feel like they don't belong with family or with people that she knows. She is content to keep company with "former offenders". Many are rejected from jobs, disadvantaged for promotions, endure hostile workplaces or are even harassed at their places of employment (James, 2016:85). Most released mothers felt that a criminal record hindered their chances of attaining work and that their age was not in their favour as they were much older on their release. Not all incarcerated mothers are well informed about the various employment challenges whilst incarcerated or the process involved in getting a criminal record expunged. The primary cause of distress amongst these released mothers is a loss of income as they are now unable to care for their children and families (James, 2016:99).

They've stepped out of correctional centres and into society with nothing. They have no place to live, no clothing or even basic supplies. They revealed having being released into nothing and that they required shelter, food, and clothing (James, 2016:114). Further, James study indicates that release mothers felt "as good as dead". That they felt non-existent, revealing that they find it extremely hard trying to fit into society. Society needs to understand they are still people and still living (James, 2016:158).

Chikadzi (2017:293) reveals that post-release issues of family dislocation, family rejection, community rejection, and societal stigma are experienced. Readjusting to life post-incarceration proved terribly difficult as community and family support are of paramount importance to rehabilitation and reintegration. Once released many re-offend as they are unable to attain any support. Without support interventions, destitution occurs and the only solace they find is with ex-offenders. In spite of having qualifications, attaining work proved very difficult for many as they now had criminal records and were incarcerated. A further challenge experienced upon release was an inferiority complex. Being incarcerated for long periods stagnated their lives and its progress when contrasted to people they knew. This resulted in

stress, regrets, shame, stigma and inferiority which are indicative of needing professional assistance and intervention by a psychologist (Chikadzi, 2017:295).

Gauging by the literature discussion (Agboola, 2014; Henry, 2015; Singh, 2016; James, 2016; Chikadzi, 2017) on re-integration for a released mother, various challenges are experienced by her post-incarceration. Her challenges include custody issues over her children, distant tendencies shared with her children, family chaos, and an absence of community support, difficulty in attaining employment, financial difficulties, criminal record biases, societal stigma, homelessness, readjustment, and an inferiority complex. This is indeed a myriad of challenges experienced post-release.

In view of the fact that the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) stresses the significance on reintegration, nevertheless, the department is invisible or hidden away to released mothers as it refrains from extending an arm across the correctional setting. Its responsibility is to drive processes that support social reintegration. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:71) cites the promotion of visits and communication in achieving this aim of social reintegration. However, it has been made blatantly clear that an absence of bonding is directly linked to the correctional setting.

It is prudently apparent that released mothers require correctional support, family support, and community support to survive their incarceration ordeal. In its absence, the released mother will revert to misconduct and aiding and abetting this behaviour is that she prefers to keep company with ex-offenders as she is shunned by the community and society that she is released into. This re-offending creates a viral effect as her children are at risk of misconduct in their futures as well (Agboola, 2014:52; Henry, 2015:6).

4.8 CONCLUSION

South Africa manages one of the world's largest correctional systems (Vetten, 2006:135) and every system of the State is governed by policies to which the Department of Correctional Services is not exempt. Starting off this chapter, attention was afforded to the historical development of correctional policies in South Africa, spanning from an apartheid-era to that of a democratic ruling. Thereafter the development of the correctional systems in the various provinces of South Africa, with Kwa-Zulu Natal being highlighted, in light of this study being conducted at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre which is located in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province.

Various approaches to treatment have been discussed with a special focus on the rehabilitation approach seeing that it forms the foundation and ethos of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005). Rehabilitation programmes presented at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre and its shortcomings thereof were outlined further as it is necessary to offer a basis of the existing literature (Singh, 2014) prior to discussing challenges relating to childcare as experienced by incarcerated mothers from this study. The literature conferred with is indicative of a failing structure.

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) is the mandate designed for Department of Correctional Services to achieve its aim of offender rehabilitation and societal responsibility. Although transformation measures have been put in place, little is left to be desired regarding correctional conditions, settings and rehabilitation programme's offered (De Wet, 2005; Buhlungu *et al*, 2007; Gowland, 2011; Artz *et al*, 2012; James, 2016). Attempts and efforts of rehabilitation by implementing its various rehabilitation programmes are frankly bleak and ineffective as these studies have revealed. They seem to treat "crime categories" and not the individual per-se.

South Africa's Constitution provides a basis for the Department of Correctional Services mandate. The Department stands compelled to meet and deliver the terms of the Constitution regarding treatment and administration of offenders. A right to humane management and for communication and visitation from an offender's family and next of kin is outlined in Section 35. By encouraging visitations as stipulated in the Constitution, the mother and child relationship would strengthen.

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) pays little attention to mothers incarcerated and for the little that it does promise on delivering, it fails dismally and miserably short to deliver. The literature cited (Haffejee *et al*, 2006; Law, 2014; Luyt, 2008a; Gowland, 2011; Artz *et al*, 2012; Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001) is clearly indicative that correctional centres are far from fostering a healthy mother and child relationship by encouraging visits to develop healthy bonding processes. Incarcerated mothers lament over their mental health care needs as many experience issues of depression and despair that steer them towards suicidal feelings (Gowland, 2011:8; Artz, Hoffman & Moul, 2012:68; Agboola, 2014:51; Qhogwana, 2017:123; Luyt, 2008a:321). Yet, attempting to attain professional assistance at the correctional centres are efforts in vain.

Challenges of released mothers were exposed and it is thoroughly evident that this "special category" of offenders remains destitute and disadvantaged (Agboola, 2014; Henry, 2015; Singh, 2016; James, 2016; Chikadzi, 2017). Released mothers are in dire need of family, social and correctional support. Families need to assist released mothers by engaging in her pre-release planning strategy as, without their support upon her release, she is bound to repeat her offending.

Further, the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) has intentions of creating a separate female section in every correctional centre nationwide. This will be a long way to materialisation noting that we are in the year 2018, not even 25% of correctional centres have female sections available. It seems that an

incarcerated mother's life has been doomed since she was born as her background is strife with mayhem, often resulting in her incarceration. Her challenges continue once incarcerated and follow her post-release as well. This is evidently a continuous and vicious cycle of challenges and anguishes experienced by an incarcerated mother.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE RESEARCH METHODS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Having a detailed research process is vital for attaining reliable and trustworthy data. Be its sources of information reviewed during the literature review process or even whilst collecting the raw data, the information has to be reliable. It involves processes aimed at collecting, interpreting, analysing, and for the reporting of data in research activities or undertakings (Creswell & Clark, 2007:58; Van Wyk, 2012:4). In order to achieve this, a comprehensive and methodical process of data collection is required. The following processes were utilised and adopted in this study to gather the data:

- the research approach,
- the research design, data sources,
- data collection techniques,
- the research population and the research sample
- reliability and validity,
- the data analysis, and
- ethical concerns and pre-testing.

In addition, the framework for the questions in this study was created against the backdrop of the existing theories discussed in Chapter 2.

5.2 A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design includes the various aspects required in preparing and implementing a study. It's an essential strategy for a study (Punch, 1998:66; Van Wyk, 2012:4). The creation of sensible and balanced judgements throughout the

research process is tantamount with a research design (Mouton & Marais, 1990:33). It indicates the aim of the investigation as well (van Wky, 2012:7).

Goodwin & Horowitz (2002, 35-36) maintain that a qualitative research approach pays attention to people's words and actions in particular places and institutes, inclusive of their actions. This implies that a qualitative approach relates to how social phenomena transpire in the realms of a societal context. Intense accounts, explanations and its narrations of specific circumstances create the connection in qualitative research. When compared to quantitative methods, qualitative approaches have an advantage of providing consistent and reliable information which is established from comprehensive probes and the prompting of participants.

Creswell and Clark (2007:6) indicate that qualitative data contains information that is open-ended which the researcher collects via interviews with the participating sample. Mason (2002:1) points out that a qualitative study has a strong and robust ability to establish convincing arguments relating to how things function or operate in specific contexts. Pope, Ziebland & Mays (2000:116) maintain that interpreting and analysing qualitative information is by no means a simple task; however, if completed correctly, the process is able to verify truths regarding certain phenomenon. Mariampolski (2001:7) infers that "qualitative research seeks the meanings and motivations behind behaviour, as well as a thorough account of behavioural facts and implications via researcher's encounters with people's own actions, words, and ideas". Dantzker and Hunter (2012:57) note that qualitative studies are able to discuss a person's understanding into certain events, an aspect that quantitative data is unable to achieve.

There are various techniques that a researcher may utilise to conduct qualitative research. Some of these techniques can take the form of interviews, group sessions, and observations. Van Wyk (2012:8) concludes that the principal aim of an exploratory study is to discover the situation in which issues exist in and to find the salient elements which may dwell there. It's mainly used when there are large

degrees of vagueness and unfamiliarity on specific subjects. However, within such a study, a formal structure is absent. In a descriptive study, its fundamental purpose is to offer an exact and effective illustration of the elements pertinent to the study questions. This form of research is structured (Van Wyk, 2012:10). This research adopts a formal and structured approach however certain elements of exploration will be utilised. Although studies pertaining to incarcerated mothers have been carried out in the various continents, they are limited.

Hence in-depth challenges relating to childcare will be explored to attain a deeper and more profound identification of the challenges experienced. At the same time, the research is attentive to describe the challenges as experienced by incarcerated mothers whilst she is within a correctional setting. This descriptive technique affords insight into the lives of the participants, their socio-economics and characteristics. The qualitative data reflected is mostly collected against knowledge, attitude, beliefs and opinion of the participants, hence both elements of the exploratory, as well as descriptive design, will be used.

Based on the reflected thoughts, this study is rooted in a qualitative approach utilising existing theories to create a realistic framework. The qualitative approach aided the study to search and discover a complexity of challenges as experienced by incarcerated mothers due to the participants being able to communicate their individual feelings, resulting in attaining a thorough understanding of their challenges experienced. In addition, the data collected would be able to ascertain the efficiency of the rehabilitation and re-integration programmes applied by the Department of Correctional Services towards alleviating as well as improving such challenges. The literature noted in chapter 2 and chapter 3 indicates that challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers are similar if not the same across all the continents.

This study is founded on the premise that incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre endure comparable challenges as exposed

throughout the world and that correctional policies as mandated in South Africa may not be essentially practiced. This study may back up the current literature or undermine the existing accounts of challenges as experienced by incarcerated mothers by predominantly using semi-structured interviews. In principle, the researcher linked the information generated from the semi-structured interview process (primary data) with the already existent literature (secondary data).

5.3 THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE

This section outlines the various procedures utilised for accomplishing the research data. Such procedures are inclusive of the data collection process, attaining admission to the Durban Westville Correctional Centre, the participants of the study, sampling techniques and the semi-structured open-ended interviews.

5.3.1 Data Collection

Chaleunvong (2009:2) maintains that data collection methods enable the researcher to methodically gather data regarding the entities of the research (such as phenomena, objects, and people) and the settings or situations in which they transpire. Creswell & Clark (2007:114) indicate that qualitative data is categorised by its sources which are inclusive of documents, interviews, and observation which represent the data by the use of texts or words. Audio-visual resources such as photos and videotapes represent data by way of texts or words as well.

With the aim of collecting the data, the researcher was required to gain entrance and contact with the participants based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. This process called for an application to be made to the Department of Correctional Services Research Directorate to permit the researcher access to their premises. In addition, permission needed to be sought from the sample of the incarcerated mothers to collect the necessary data. Hence ethical approval was attained from the university (Appendix C), Department of Correctional Services

Research Directorate (Appendix D) and from the research participants (Appendix A1). This study made use of semi-structured interviews to obtain the primary data. While the researcher conducted semi-structured interview sessions, she also reviewed relevant literature available on the study topic.

5.3.2 Population, Sample, and Sampling Techniques

The research population is indicated as the whole set or complete group from where data is being collected (Dantzker and Hunter, 2012:110). The population in this study refers to incarcerated mothers based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre, whereas the sample refers to the incarcerated mothers that are to be interviewed. Creswell and Clark (2007:112) retain that the intention of sampling people is for selecting people that are illustrative against a population so that the outcomes can be universal to that population. It is not the aim to generalise this research to the broad correctional system, but only to the total female inmate population based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre.

With the intention of attaining a representative population sample, probability sampling by means of the simple random sampling method was chosen for this study. Bryman and Bell (2014:170) uphold that a probability sample is when participants are “selected using random selection so that each unit in the population has a known chance of being selected” enabling a representative sample which keeps a sampling error to a minimum. The aim of using this sampling design was being able to select a sample that created representivity in terms of generalising the results to the Durban Westville Correctional Centre, i.e., this permitted for the results to be more applicable and valid to all the incarcerated mothers held there. Names of eighty five incarcerated mothers, attained via the Department of Correctional Services were placed in a hat. From these, fifteen were selected out of a bowl. This selection formed the sample of this study.

Interviewing times and schedules were created against the availability of the participants as participants had prior schedules in place. Most were working at the workshop based at the correctional centre whilst some worked at the shop, the library or were students busy at the Unisa off-site hub. All participants met with the researcher according to their scheduled times and all participants approved to being part of the research. Initially, one participant was a little resistant at the start of the interview as she was fearful thinking the Department was indirectly questioning their female offenders. However, by engaging with the researcher she felt more relaxed and continued with the interview questions.

5.3.3 Data Sources

A deductive logic mode is to first read the available literature to formulate ideas (theoretical framework), then to collect the data to test findings available to ascertain a discussion (van Wyk, 2012:15). A widespread literature pursuit and analysis has been conducted in order to establish the research already undertaken on the topic of maternal incarceration. This study focused on collating data using the following sources to emphasise the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers:

- Literature review,
- electronic resources (the internet, websites, e-books, and e-journals)
- Reports created by the Department of Correctional Services,
- Scientific journals,
- Other sources (newspapers, popular journals, opinions)
- Semi-structured open-ended interviews,
- Observations

5.3.4 The Interviews

Mutchnick & Berg (1996:116) notes interviews as “conversations with a purpose”. Interviewing is a technique used that requires a special kind of information that investigates what happens within the participants’ mind (Meriam, 1985:71). Dantzker & Hunter (2012:57) indicate that different kinds of interviews are apt for differing circumstances. Interviews entail one person asking another person a question or questions aimed at attaining information. An interview refers to the communication amongst two individuals where the aim of one of the individuals is to attain identifiable answers to particular questions.

Fulcher & Scott (1999:89) indicate that a “checklist” of questions being asked is referred to as an interview schedule. This study made use of an interview schedule throughout the interview period (Appendix B). This schedule assisted the researcher to stay focused on the aims of the study affording a deeper appreciation of the participant’s challenges experienced relating to childcare. An aim of the interview process was for the participants to communicate naturally and freely, therefore an in-depth interview style was used. The benefits of such a method enable the participant to engage easily and allow the participant to have a significant part in the interview. Such interactions promote interactive communications (Elliott, 2005:6).

The traditional types of interviewing that have no structures are in essence the non-standard, flexible, and unrestricted form of in-depth interviewing (Punch, 1998:178). Nunan (1992:143) maintains that the vital aspect of open-ended interviews is that answers received to these types of questions shall accurately reflect what the participants need to say more precisely. According to Creswell and Clark (2007:63), qualitative interviewing has the following advantages:

- allowing for the interactional exchange of dialogue,
- catering for a fairly relaxed and easy-going style,

- having “a fluid and flexible structure”, thus enabling the research to develop by being able to probe further on the theme, for a comprehensive and wider understanding of the responses received, as well as
- “knowledge is situated and contextual”, hence the interviewing process enables for the pertinent and appropriate contexts to be emphasised on, making way for the release of knowledge that is situated.

The researcher ensured that the language used during the interviews was uncomplicated. For instance, no technical innuendos were used, but rather a familiar everyday language. This allowed the participants to feel more relaxed, to understand the questions better which allowed for no ambiguity in questions being posed. This added to the validity of the data collected. Being qualitative by nature, the in-depth interview in this study enabled for the collection of detailed information about how the participants experienced, understood and explained their challenges relating to childcare whilst incarcerated. The interviews comprised semi-structured, one-on-one sessions with the sample population. The same questions were posed to all participants, enabling for easy comparison between participants' answers. This also enabled the research to generate precise data, avoiding vagueness. Each interview lasted an average of two to two and a half hours.

Nieuwenhuis (2014:14) defines observation as an orderly method of noting peoples conduct and behaviour short of enquiring or communicating. Furthermore, with the one-on-one interviews, the researcher was also able to give attention to each participant through observation. This assisted in creating a good connection with the researcher and each participant and enabled the researcher to hold eye contact with each participant.

These data collection techniques (semi-structured open-ended interviews and observations) are vital instruments within this study. The researcher envisages that the results generated during the interview process would support the research

questions embedded in this study. Before the commencement of the interviews, the following was explained to all participants:

- informed consent,
- who's the researcher,
- the aim and objective of this research,
- the different phases involved in collecting data,
- the interview process itself and each stage of the research,
- the reasoning for conducting this research,
- criteria used for selection of the participants; as well as
- the significance, justification and benefits of such research.

The following offers a summary of the different aspects regarding the data gathering process:

Where was the data collected?

Data was collected from within the female section of the Durban Westville Correctional Centre.

When was the data collected?

Data was collected once the researcher gained consent from the university, the Department of Correctional Services Research Directorate and from every participant of the study.

How was the data collected?

By the use of an in-depth literature review and by conducting semi-structured interviews.

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Fulcher & Scott (1999:80) indicates that the process of coding is where specific answers received are adapted into groupings for research usage. Champion (2002:45) advocates that “induction or inductive reasoning is a process whereby a specific sample is observed, examined and described and where conclusions or generalisations are made about the population from which the sample was drawn. Induction starts “with specific observations and measures to detect patterns and regularities and to formulate some tentative hypotheses that can be explored, and finally ends up developing some overall conclusions”. Induction by its nature is more flexible, fluid and probing (Trochim, Donnelly & Arora, 2006:23). The primary aim of this technique is to permit the research findings to surface through significant themes or patterns that are representative of the raw data (Thomas, 2006:238).

The researcher had drawn on characteristics and backgrounds of mothers incarcerated the world over during the literature review process. This afforded the researcher a certain degree of insight regarding incarcerated mothers and their challenges experienced across the globe and to create interview questions against global challenges experienced. Interview questions were created against themes identified during the literature review process and all responses received from the interview sessions were recorded in written format on the interview schedule. The interview sheet that listed the questions also provided a space in which to record answers. This made for the research findings to be organised as well as to keep a record of raw data.

Such themes assisted the researcher in indexing the information received and the consequent analysis of the raw data. This further created a basis for keeping and retrieving the information. All interview answers were bunched together as per each research question posed. The theming of the data enabled for the research to ascertain patterned answers. Additionally, the researcher recorded observations

and findings in addition to making supplementary notes regarding concerns. Thus, the interview schedules provided a proof of the interviews held and the discussions that transpired, in addition to aiding with the data analysis.

At the conclusion of the data analysis, this study offers insight into,

- the various challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers relating to childcare at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre and,
- the impact and effectiveness of the Department of Correctional Services rehabilitative and reintegrative programmes implemented for incarcerated mothers.

5.5 ETHICS, CONFIDENTIALITY, INFORMED CONSENT, AND VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

The study gained ethical approval from the university and abided by the ethical standards prescribed. Matters relating to ethics, confidentiality, informed consent, and voluntary participation were adhered to.

5.5.1 Ethical Considerations

Ethics is referred to as “normative standards of professional groups or organisations... a morally binding code upon members of a group” (Champion, 2002:679). Taking in such thoughts and concerns when conducting research, benefits the well-being and welfare of the participants (Noaks and Wincup, 2004:37).

This study obtained ethical clearance from the Department of Correctional Services Research Directorate to complete the study at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. A responsibility to minimise harm, afford privacy, extend confidentiality,

informed consent and the affirmation of voluntary involvement, were all addressed during the interview process.

5.5.2 Confidentiality

The essence of research often requires participants to impart their feelings, reflections, and attitudes (Dantzker & Hunter, 2012:28). Social science studies are obligated to safeguard the disclosures received from their study participants (Hagan, 2005:60).

The participants of the study are incarcerated mothers who experience daily challenges. They were required to share information of a private nature with the researcher. All participants were made aware from the onset that their confidentiality and privacy would be adhered to at all times during the research. The importance of the research was also a key factor for participation. The challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers are not readily available due to a lack of research hereof. This research presented an opportunity for such challenges to be established and focused on.

Principles of confidentiality and privacy were strictly adhered to. Participants were more willing to provide honest responses when they were ensured that their identity will not be exposed. In order to maintain non-disclosure of their identity, all data collected via interviews were made anonymous. Information from the participants was also stored anonymously. Each participant was identified by the initials of their name and surname. This kept participants' names confidential during the data gathering process. Privacy is a continuation of the participants' confidentiality. Hence each interview concluded was on a one-on-one basis between the researcher and the participants. Each interview was administered in various private rooms within the correctional facility depending on its availability and not within "ears length" of non-participants.

5.5.3 Informed consent and voluntary participation

Researchers need not only seek consent, but it also needs to be stated to all participants that their involvement in a study is purely voluntary (Dantzker & Hunter, 2012:23). In keeping with such rules of research, at the inception of every interview, the researcher discussed the aim of the research with every participant and that their involvement was voluntary. Each participant agreed to the signing of an informed consent form at the inception of the interviewing process (Appendix A1). This consent form included the following areas of information;

- the aim of the research,
- processes of the research,
- time expectancy of the interview process,
- details of the sampling procedure,
- right to remove themselves at any given time,
- the possibility of discomfort,
- potential benefits of the research,
- contact details should any questions arise, as well as
- the sampling process which was used.

5.6 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Dantzker & Hunter (2012:68) maintain that validity “refers to the ability of a measuring instrument to produce similar results when a study is repeated”. Mason (2002:187) corroborates that “reliability is measured by observing the consistency with which the same methods of data collection produce the same results”. Neuman (2006:188) indicates that the “truthfulness, credibility, and believability of a study's findings are established by both reliable and valid measures”.

A simple quality question of validity asks: Am I researching what I intended to? Is the data gathered relevant to the research questions (will it help to answer the

research question) (Matthews & Ross, 2010:12). The content “validity is based on the logical inclusion of a sample of items that represent the concept being measured” (Champion (2002:378). The content of the questions asked determine the effectiveness of the data collection established by reviewing the content regarding questions posed during the interviewing process. Such a process permits for the questions posed to be valid to the research question being asked. This study adopted processes to ensure that reliability is achieved, i.e. by outlining the objectives of such a study, by providing a thorough account of the data collection techniques utilised, in addition to removing any unclear questions during the interview process. By sharing this knowledge with the participants, the researcher managed to create a good atmosphere, allowing the participants an opportunity to open up.

During the interview process, the researcher afforded participants a chance to express their opinions, to be non-judgmental or neutral, respectful, natural, non-threatening, faithful, and adhering to the ethical rules, as well as to perform the analysis accurately and to report the findings with honesty. This aided in establishing good rapport where the participants trusted the researcher knowing very well that their participation in such a study has benefits to incarcerated mothers. With the establishment of good rapport and trust, participants were more willing to open up about the challenges they experienced whilst incarcerated and separated from their children. This allowed for further data validation as participants felt free to engage, thus revealing their anguish and distress.

Furthermore, the researcher reviewed the answers to the questions asked and called them back to verify their conclusions. This enabled a reaffirmation of their responses, thus enhancing the credibility and trustworthiness of the data collected. These various mechanisms were implemented so as to establish that the findings were valid and reliable.

5.7 DEBRIEFING AND/OR COUNSELLING

Hanna and Romana (2007:39) state that the purpose of debriefing is to minimise any likelihood of psychological stress or hurt by notifying participants regarding their experiences or permitting them to discuss it. A brief talk transpired between the researcher and each participant after their input in this study. All participants were fully informed, as well as asked, about their participation in the study. They were asked whether or not the study had harmed them in any way. This study involved no deception and risks. Discomfort was envisaged in the sense of where a participant may feel sad or cry after discussions over their children.

The researcher requested the services of a correctional counsellor to be made available to any participant requiring such a service in the case of severe discomfort. This was discussed with the Department of Correctional Services Research Directorate. At the conclusion of the interviews, when the researcher inquired, no participant indicated that such a service was required.

5.8 PRE-TEST OR PILOT STUDY

Making sure that researchers and participants interpret the research questions, in the same way, is of high concern in the design, and pre-testing is one of the best ways to achieve this (Converse & Presser 1986:54). This study pre-tested the questions posed within the interview with two incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre prior to conducting the actual interviews. These pre-test participants then formed part of the actual study.

This process served to measure the validity of the questions asked and for the possibility of attaining reliable data. This was considered to be the best form of pre-testing. When it was found that some words were confusing, these were rectified accordingly. The Isi-Zulu consent form was further pre-tested although it was never used as all participants spoke English. This Isi-Zulu consent form had punctuation

and grammar issues which were rectified by an isi-Zulu speaking social worker based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. These pre-testing measures validate the credibility of this study and ensure that the data retrieved and collected is valid and reliable.

5.9 ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The research relied on attaining the most correct responses to the questions posed; hence it was important for the participants to understand the research questions completely before answering them. This study envisaged a language barrier issue. Although the researcher is proficient in English, her communication in Isi-Zulu is limited. Hence the service of an interpreter had been requested from the Department of Correctional Services to make sure that data gathered was strictly in its purest and truest form. Should the Department of Correctional Services have been unable to accommodate this request, a personal interpreter would have been obtained as the concern was that the concepts of the questions needed to be fully understood by the participants. Concepts are best understood when the dialect used is in the most common language associated with the participant. However, all of the participants within this study were able to communicate in English.

Further, all participants were made aware of the benefit incarcerated mothers could eventually attain from having their challenges explored. The Department of Correctional Services is required to keep in line with properly structured rehabilitation programmes that are specifically targeted to this population of inmates by yielding to better visitation programmes with a special emphasis being placed on mothers and their children bonding.

5.10 DATA COLLECTION CENTERING ON THEORY

Theory and research share a close relationship or have interconnectedness. Research depends on theory and theory development requires research. Theories

define and outline data collection. Irrespective of the aim of the study, be it to create new theories or to test existing ones, theories are used as a method for collecting data (Fawcett & Downs, 1986:4). Layder (1998:10) maintains that “if research is about the systematic gathering of evidence and data, then theorising represents the attempt to order this information into some kind of explanatory framework”.

In Chapter 2, various theoretical frameworks were outlined to describe reasoning or factors which contribute to female misconduct, characteristic of mothers incarcerated. Old schools of thought were reflected on as was developed during those periods offering insight to the undertakings of that era. Thereafter more current and up to date theories were described to explain and to acquire a better understanding of female misconduct. Theories included the Gendered Pathways Theory, the Relational Theory, and the General Strain Theory.

The Gendered Pathways Theory of Daly (1992) highlights and explains distinctions in female misconduct. The Relational Theory of Covington (1998) perpetuates those females relationships are the central force behind their misconduct. The General Strain Theory of Agnew (1992) expounds that female misconduct shares a relationship with different classes of social strain such as being unable to achieve financial comforts and an inability to maintain societal goals. Interview questions in this study paid attention to incarcerated mothers relationships with her family and children in the past and at present, her background prior to her incarceration as well as if she incurred any social strains such as financial impediments. These theories discussed describe causes for female misconduct; hence the data collected in this study seeks reasons against female misconduct within this sample of participants.

Thereafter, sentencing theories were discussed. Included in the discussion was the Just Deserts Theory, the Deterrence Theory and the Incapacitation Theory. The Just Deserts Theory alludes that a wrongdoer ought to be punished for their

misconduct, where a wrongdoer deserves the punishment. The Deterrence Theory is based on principles to discourage re-offending and to minimise future offending. The Incapacitation Theory reduces an offender's ability to re-offend whilst incarcerated. Interview questions in this study paid attention to an incarcerated mother's sentence length and her crime category as it would be interesting to note if lengthy incarceration sentences are implemented for misdemeanours.

And finally, Bowlby's Attachment Theory was discussed as this theory is beneficial to this study, seeing that maternal incarceration creates a division or separation between a mother and her children. Bowlby (1988) maintains that parents behaviour is directly influenced by their own experiences of their childhood, their youth, together with experiences of before and after their marriage. Incarcerated mothers too, as the literature reviews have revealed, come from backgrounds riddled with chaos and mayhem. This is indicative or somewhat revealing of the type of parenting behaviour they would display or engage in with their children based on their own life's individual experiences. Interview questions in this study paid attention to an incarcerated mother's background, her childhood and the type of marital relationship she shares with her spouse as this study seeks to establish the aptness of Bowlby's Attachment Theory.

The theories utilised are reflective of the various scholars reasoning for female misconduct, sentencing ideologies adopted by the Criminal Justice System and Bowlby towards generating an emphasis on parenting behaviour. In view of the data analysis in this study following an inductive analytical process, questions posed in the interview schedule were created to reveal patterns or themes regarding the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers. The aim of this research is to highlight the challenges endured by incarcerated mothers and how they impact on her wellbeing, both emotionally and physically and to enlighten the Department of Correctional Services on the importance of a relationship shared amongst an incarcerated mother and her children.

Hence a thematic analysis of the data will be presented with specific themes being created that interact with incarcerated mothers challenges, the bonding processes between her and her children whilst she is incarcerated as well as the effectiveness of the rehabilitative and reintegrative programmes offered at the correctional centre. A thematic representation has been used during the widespread literature review as well. These themes or patterns that have been created enables for the study to create parallels against the rest of the population based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre and if these challenges are similar to the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers across the globe.

5.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the research approach to this study was denoted. A qualitative approach has been adopted, using semi-structured, open-ended interviewing as a source to collect the primary data. No limitations to the study were noted or experienced. The following chapter presents the results of this research. Challenges relating to childcare as experienced by incarcerated mothers based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre will be discussed against the themes created. Themes include feelings of depression and despair, opportunities for bonding, relationships shared with children's care-givers, support systems, rehabilitation programmes offered at the correctional centre and concerns regarding an incarcerated mother's children.

5.12 LIST OF REFERENCES

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CHAPTER SIX

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

A principal aim for this empirical research is geared towards describing and explaining the various challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers. In order to supply evidence for its findings, an inductive analytical process was followed. The process entailed a widespread literature review on both the national and international platforms on this specific subject matter, as well as by concluding in-depth semi-structured interviews with mothers incarcerated at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. The notion behind this comparative research approach is to detect and discover similarities or patterns predominant within the population of incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre against the national and international backdrops. Azarian (2011:113) notes that this concept of comparative research “brings into fore what is otherwise hidden in the totality of social reality. As a construction, comparison thus helps create an ordered perception of this reality, i.e.an organised way to see it in one way rather than in many other alternative ways”.

Patterns detected within the literature review components have been grouped into themes which enable for a themed analysis of the challenges experienced being exposed. Braun & Clarke (2006:5) refer to thematic analysis as; “through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data”. The various themes discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 include; feelings of depression and despair, an absence of support, concerns regarding their children, limited opportunities for bonding, inefficiencies of substitute caring, and shortfalls of rehabilitation programmes offered at correctional centres.

In addition, challenges of re-entry have been discussed during the widespread literature review. Being mindful that incarcerated mothers in this study would at some point in their lives eventually be released mothers, the researcher thought it significant to highlight re-entry issues as experienced by their national and international counterparts in an attempt to determine if the participants in this study are being prepared by the correctional centre for their release and their re-integration into society.

6.2 DEMOGRAPHY OF THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Fifteen participants had taken part in this study (N=15). Participants selected were based on a single criterion, that they are mothers incarcerated with minor children living outside the correctional centre. Although age, race and offence category, were not significant indicators in determining the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers, the following demographics are highlighted to draw a comparison to the national statistics. The National Offender Population Profile (2008) released from the Department of Correctional Services does not draw on specific data relating to female offenders. The report pays attention to South Africa's general incarceration statistics. Therefore, the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report (Jules-Macquet, 2015) will be used for comparison purposes and to draw conclusions from the current study against the backdrop of the national female offending statistics.

6.2.1 Regional female offending

The table below provides insight into regional female offending. It is noteworthy and essential to make mention of the statistics pertaining to regional offending as this study was conducted at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre, located within the Kwa-Zulu Natal region.

Table 1: Regional female offending in South Africa: National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report (Jules-Macquet, 2015:8).

Row Labels	Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	Western Cape	Grand Total
#	734	323	1197	1366	146	187	104	753	4810
%	15.26%	6.72%	24.89%	28.40%	3.04%	3.89%	2.16%	15.65%	100.00%

The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report lists the Kwa-Zulu Natal province in South Africa as attaining the highest percentage of female offenders in South Africa, followed by the Gauteng province and then the Western Cape Province (Jules-Macquet, 2015:8).

6.2.2 Age

The tables below indicate the various age ranges that female offenders fall into in South Africa. Table two reflects the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report statistics whilst table three represents the age categories of the participants in this study.

Table 2: Age categories for female offending in South Africa: National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report (Jules-Macquet, 2015:5).

Row Labels	Under 18	19-25	26-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60	No Data	Grand Total
#	857	1504	649	1027	462	215	95	1	4 810
%	17.82%	31.27%	13.49%	21.35%	9.60%	4.47%	1.98%	0.02%	100.00%

Table 3: Age category of participants at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre

Under 18	19-25	26-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60	Totals
0	0	1	3	11	0	0	15
0%	0%	6.67%	20%	73.33%	0%	0%	100%

A similarity has been established between the 30-39 age range against the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report

(21.35%) and the participants in this study (20%). The highest percentage in this study fell between the age ranges of 40-49 (73.33%). It needs to be reflected that every participant who engaged within this study was over 18 years of age and there was no participant who was in the age range 50-59 or over the age of 60.

6.2.3 Crime Category

Table four below is indicative of statistics pertaining to the various crime categories associated with the participants of this study.

Table 4: Crime category of participants at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre

Crime Category	Number	Percentage
Economic crimes	6	40%
Aggressive crimes	6	40%
Narcotic crimes	2	13.33%
Sexual crimes	1	6.67%
Other crimes	0	0%
Totals	15	100%

The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report lists the various crime categories for female offending in South Africa as follows; 44.80% against crimes economically related, 35,71% for crimes of an aggressive nature, 11.74% for drug-associated crimes, 6.84% for unspecified crimes and sexually related crimes comprised 0.90% (Jules-Macquet, 2015:5).

A similarity has been established between the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report and the participants of this study regarding their crime categories. A similar match in percentages has been established against the economic, aggressive and narcotic crime categories.

6.2.4 Race

The tables below denote percentages against racial groups against female offending in South Africa. Table 5 indicates results from the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report whereas table 6 is indicative of the race categories regarding participants in this study.

Table 5: Female offenders per race category: National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report (Jules-Macquet, 2015:8).

Row Labels	Black	Asian	Coloured	White	No Data	Grand Total
#	3626	156	590	403	35	4 810
%	75.38%	3.24%	12.27%	8.38%	0.73%	100.00%

Table 6: Race category of participants at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre

Black	Indian	Coloured	White	Totals
9	4	1	1	15
60%	26.67%	6.67%	6.67%	100%

A similarity has been established between the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report against the participants of this study regarding their race categories. A similar match in percentages has been found for the black and white race categories. A difference has been noted against the race category Indian; this study reflects Indian as 26.67% whereas the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report reveals Indian as 3.24%.

This variance can be alluded to Durban being the principal Indian town outside of India as reported in the World Sail Away and Times of India online newspaper articles (Cook, 2014; Mukherji, 2011).

6.2.5 Criminal tendencies

The tables below highlight criminal tendencies against female offending in South Africa. Table 7 displays the results of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report whilst table 8 reflects criminal tendencies prevalent in the sample population of this study.

Table 7: Female offender's history: National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report (Jules-Macquet, 2015:9).

Row Labels	First Offender	Recidivist	Unknown	Grand Total
Female				
#	4111	237	462	4810
%	85.47%	4.93%	9.60%	100.00%

Table 8: Offending history of participants at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre

First Offender	Repeat Offender	Totals
15	0	15
100%	0%	100%

The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report lists that 85.47% of females who offend in South Africa are first timers whilst 4.93% of female offenders are repeat or recidivist offenders (Jules-Macquet, 2015:9).

The participants in this study all revealed that they were first-time offenders. This draws a parallel with the high statistics available on the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report that most often females are first time offenders.

6.2.6 Employment Status

The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders Report reveals that 40% of female offenders were unemployed in South Africa (Jules-Macquet, 2015:11). In this study, seven participants (46.67%) revealed their unemployed status and three of the participants (20%) revealed being casually employed. Statistics revealed in this study are indicative of the research findings of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 which indicate that incarcerated mothers are mostly unemployed.

Many similarities have been detected as illustrated between the national demographics of female offending and the participants of this study. Similarities noted included age ranges, crime categories, race categories, criminal histories, and their employment status.

6.3 LITERATURE INTERPRETATIONS - SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST THE WORLD

Although studies on maternal incarceration are limited on both the fronts, this study has nevertheless been able to attain applicable data that further identifies with the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers. International research portrays a dismal and depressing picture for incarcerated mothers. The South African context is far from a pretty portrait as well.

Challenges experienced whilst incarcerated are not shaped by age, race, employment history, crime category or the country that an incarcerated mother resides in as studies (Artz, Hoffman-Wanderer & Moul, 2012; Baunach, 1985; Caddle & Crisp, 1997; Clark, 1995; Easterling, 2012; Goulding, 2004; Mafume, 2014; Luyt, 2008; Bhana, 2001; Gowland, 2011) reveal a common thread amongst the challenges as experienced by incarcerated mother's regarding their children across the world.

This study adopts a systematic analysis and parallels have been drawn against the various countries by grouping or creating themes on the challenges experienced as this creates for an opportunity to compare data extracted within its individual contexts. Incarcerated mothers endure many challenges whilst incarcerated, however for purposes of this study, specific challenges relating to childcare will be discussed.

Themes comprise feelings of depression and despair, an absence of support, concerns regarding their children, limited opportunities for bonding, and inefficiencies of substitute caring together with shortfalls of rehabilitation programmes offered at Correctional Centres.

As indicated, a comparative research approach had been adopted to demonstrate if challenges experienced are the same, if not similar across all the continents. This comparison enables this research an opportunity to bring to light the challenges experienced and to expose them in an organised and structured manner.

6.3.1 Comparison data

The table below indicates the relevant themes and against each theme, research from South Africa is contrasted and compared to international studies. The contents of the table clearly highlight and indicate that the challenges experienced by mothers incarcerated internationally are similar to that of the challenges experienced by mothers who are incarcerated in South Africa.

Table 9: Comparison table – South Africa against The World

Themes	South Africa	Research	The World	Research
Background	They come from deprived economic backgrounds	(Haffajee, Vetten & Greyling, 2006:2) South Africa	Endured emotional, physical or sexual abuse	(Clark, 1995:314) United States of America
Limited opportunities for bonding	High transport costs and hostility from DCS officials	(Luyt, 2008:319) South Africa	Overcrowded visitation areas riddled with strict rules and no physical contact	(Goulding, 2004:52) Australia
Concerns regarding their children	Children endure mental health issues, aggression, truancy and substance abuse	(Agboola, 2014:52) South Africa	Children develop behaviour issues and poor mental health	(Kittayarak, 2015:39) Asia
Inefficiencies of substitute caring	Caregivers are not equipped to offer aid to traumatised children	(Bhana, 2001:17) South Africa	Caregivers are unable to meet with the financial implications of caring	(Caddle & Crisp, 1997:2) Europe
Feelings of depression and despair	The mother is consumed by guilt and grief due to seeing herself as a failed mother	(Gowland, 2011:26) South Africa	Mothers endure extreme depressions and think of ending their lives	(Mafume, 2014:27) Africa
An absence of support	Correctional staff are mostly moody and unpredictable offering little support	(James, 2016:152) South Africa	There is an absence of community aid towards her children	(Shaw, 1992:48) Europe
Shortfalls of rehabilitation programmes	A lack of skills development programmes offered to incarcerated mothers	(Artz, 2012:235) South Africa	Mothers receive little help towards their re-entry and rehabilitation	(Easterling, 2012:165) United States of America

6.4 THEORETIC RESULTS

Chapter 2 of this study presented a theoretical framework as regards to female offending. Attention was paid to the Relational Theory, General Strain Theory and the Gendered Pathways Theory, all of which attribute reasons for female misconduct. These theories were deemed pertinent for this study based on the subsequent reasons. The researcher sought to establish if there were any associations between the precursors of these theories and the participants reasoning for misconduct in this study, as all participants in this study are female and incarcerated mothers. In addition, the questions posed in this study were created against the supposition of these theories to add value to the research data by bringing to light not only incarcerated mothers challenges experienced whilst incarcerated but also to afford insight to the incarcerated mother's pathways to crime as this is very indicative of the type of background she experienced.

6.4.1 Pathways to Misconduct

The Relational Theory (Covington, 1998) explores a female's relationships and connections she shares with others. The theory premises three noteworthy concepts being pathways to growth, relationships, and her social settings. The first concept indicates that relationships shared can have both positive and adverse outcomes. The second concept relates to a female's improvement and development whilst the third concept places emphasis on the social conditions that the female was reared in. Such conditions include her background and environment. This theory notes that most females who offend share negative and discouraging connections with people significant in their lives creating pathways for misconduct. In this study, most of the participants indicated having discouraging relationships with significant people in their lives. Participant (HR) was very clear regarding her mother's involvement in criminal activities and that she was reared thinking that having criminal tendencies was appropriate behaviour. She revealed that it was her mother and her mother's brother who shaped her criminal life,

guiding her involvement with a drug cartel and the use of guns from an early age. Participant (HR) further revealed that she was raped at the age of 21 in a foreign country whilst chasing her mother's business interests.

HR: *"I haven't experienced a mother's love in all of my life, so I seek it from everyone I see. My mother used to beat me up and lock me in the house for days without giving me food if I didn't obey her instructions. Now I can stay without food for days".*

Participant (RC) felt similar regarding her mother and her upbringing. She claims to have been always left alone and that she never got to have a healthy relationship with her mother. Her mother always mentioned to her that she was a burden. She has a brother and always shared a totally dysfunctional relationship with him.

RC: *"My mother only fended for herself, she never was there for us doing the little things like cooking for us. She always called me a burden. She never loved my father because she had another boyfriend. I think he is my brother's father. My brother always hated me growing up. He even turned state witness against me".*

Most of the participants maintained that they shared unhealthy relationships with their intimate partners. Their partners were physically, emotionally and sexually aggressive. Participant (VD) revealed that she had shown misconduct at work due to her husband being a gambling addict, regularly visiting the casinos. When she had the finances to support his addiction, all was well at home. In cases of where the finances were not available, total chaos ensued in their home. He would always beat her up so bad that she was unable to present herself for work. Hard beatings and sexual assaults typically made up for her evenings at home with her husband. She attempted suicide on a few occasions and came very close to succeeding on her last attempt. She was in a coma for almost two weeks with little hope of survival. She claimed to have defrauded her employer, noting that it was wrong, but at the same time, she was trying to buy peace within her household.

Participant (HW) claimed her husband was having an extra-marital affair. He moved away from the province to relocate with his mistress, leaving her destitute with her two school-going children to care for without any contributions from him. As her financial challenges worsened, she resorted to misconduct at work to attain finances. Participant (ZZ) claimed to have been in an extremely emotionally abusive relationship. She always wondered why her husband was so distant and cold from her and that he always upheld the decisions that his sister had made over their marriage. They were married for seven years when she discovered that her husband and his sister were having an incestuous affair. This she claimed had driven her over the edge. She was a commander at the police services at that time. She mentions that she and her sister-in-law got into a heated altercation resulting in her shooting her sister-in-law.

Participant (SN) claimed to have endured years of abuse in her marriage. Her husband was verbally abusive, assaulted her throughout their marriage and conducted numerous extramarital affairs. It was her sister that had hatched a plot to hire someone to threaten and intimidate her husband. Things went wrong and her husband ended up being killed. She received a sentence for conspiracy to commit murder whilst her sister received a life sentence for murder. Participant (NM) was very young at the time of her incarceration leaving behind two small children. She met her husband whilst they were still in school and regrets their life together. She herself was abandoned by her mother when she was a child, then ended up being involved in a very violent marriage.

NM: *"My mother left me with my granny when I was only six months old. Then she ran away. I hate the man I fell in love with. He was hitting me very bad always. He made me to commit crime. We never think of our children. I should have listened to gogo (granny) about him. I only realised when I came here, sitting in my small prison cell".*

Participants in this study revealed the types of relationships they endured with significant people in their lives and it was rather apparent that their misconduct had resulted from these discouraging connections which they shared.

The General Strain Theory of Agnew (1992) corroborates with most of the views of the participants in this study. This theory supports that misconduct shares an association with a few classes of social strain. It is perceived that misconduct originates and stems from the powerlessness and inability to achieve and maintain societal goals, like financial satisfaction. Participants in this study cited signs of strains they endured prior to them being incarcerated. Such strains took the shape of financial burdens due mostly to unemployment and an absence of sound family relationships.

Participants (HW) and (XM) revealed their reasoning for their misconduct as being due to financial desperation and that they share or have no positive connections with their family. Participant (HW) was in need of groceries and basic supplies for her children.

HW: *“My husband just left to go and live in Cape Town with his new girlfriend. My kids did not even have food to eat. My wages was so little and I had to pay the rent and pay the school fees and do everything else. People don’t help you, when they see you and your children are battling. Families don’t help, they talk about you. I found a way at work to get some money. I know what I did was not right. The first time I got away with it. I had R2000 and took my children to Checkers and they were so happy with all the groceries we bought. Ya”.*

XM: *“My mother passed away in 2011 when I was in matric. My father went to prison in 2008 for murder and got sentenced when I was in school. That’s when my life took for the worse. I was sent to live with my grandmother who is an alcoholic. That’s when my life went downhill. I required money and I was unable to get a job, I started shoplifting. I got 7 years for stealing R2000 cosmetics in Clicks. Eish, most*

of my family is poor and they need things for themselves too. My boyfriend was very abusive; he would hit me all the time”.

Participants (HW) and (XM) mentioned that they did seek assistance from family members prior, however, were turned away due to family members being either selfish or not having sufficient supplies for their own immediate families. Participants (HW) and (XM) revealed that they had no close associations with their families for many years.

The Gendered Pathways Theory (Daly 1992) attributes five pathways for female misconduct. This theory rationalises that females offend due to being battered, being drug connected, require economic needs, were harmed since childhood and being street women resulting from avoidance of abuse and neglect. Most of the participants in this study relate to these pathways as factors that contributed to their offending. Participant (HR) came from a drug connected family, participants (VD), (HW), (ZZ) and (SN) had been abused in their own homes by their intimate partners, whilst participants (AM), (NM) and (HW) were in desperate need of finances whilst participants (HR) and (RC) were harmed whilst growing up. Participant (XM) had alcoholic parents and an alcoholic grandmother, participant (MN) had to leave school early to assist in the household by acquiring a job as her grandmother is old and participants (HR) and (RC) had their mothers beat them up for anything and everything. It is rather evident from these revelations of the participants in this study, that their pathways to crime are similar to that of what Daly had proposed in 1992.

The various pathways to misconduct in this study as revealed by the participants were recognised as being; the emotional, physical and sexual abuse by their intimate partners, unemployment, being drug connected, having unhealthy relationships with family members, suffering abuse in the primary years of their lives, the opportunity to commit misconduct as well as a need to fulfil and satisfy

the needs of their families and children. Such strains endured together with the experience of unhealthy relationships resolve one to accept the theories conferred.

6.4.2 Parenting Behaviour

When mothers are incarcerated, a division is created between her and her children. This division has negative consequences to the attachment bond she shares with her children. Bowlby (1988:1-4) maintains that the attachment bond is a key factor for successful parenting. Happy relationships shared bring happiness and security. Should the relationship be under attack, anger, and jealousy prevail. If the relationship is broken, there is grief and depression. Bowlby (1988:6) views that mothers require care and support themselves and that parenting behaviour is not necessarily a product of instinct or a learned trait, it is rather biologically rooted. Bowlby (1988:6) notes that mothers will mostly display parenting behaviours based on their own experiences of her childhood, her youth, and experiences endured before and after her marriage. This type of behaviour is associated with attachment bonds.

All participants in this study are incarcerated mothers and due to their incarceration, all physical relationships with their children have been severed. The researcher thought it relevant to highlight this theory to offer an understanding of the attachment bonds which is linked to parenting behaviour. The norm is to readily accept that parenting behaviour is learned or instinctive, however, Bowlby (1988:6) expands on this premise. Bowlby takes into account a mother and her own experiences that could reflect on the way she tends to mother her children.

In this study, most of the participants have revealed challenging childhoods and endured extreme marital abuses. Most participants revealed that they felt like failures, that they were not good enough mothers to their children and that they felt this way even prior to their incarceration. Although most participants realised that being good mothers meant being able to cook, clean, educate and positively rear

their children, things which they were trying to accomplish prior to their incarceration, however, they still viewed themselves as failed mothers. Participants shared the following thoughts regarding their conceptions of motherhood.

AS: *"I always try my best for my children but still fail. Something inside of me is just like dead. I used to always cover things up but that was just bluffing myself because there is no covering up when you are failing in life".*

SN: *"I was just stuck in my life. I didn't know why other people were moving on. Although I did what I was expected, I felt like I couldn't do much more".*

TB: *"Some of us mothers when we talk about our children, we say we failed them. I failed my children but I was always cooking and doing things like ironing and all for my children. We say that it is better to die than to be failed for our children".*

HR: *"I am very miserable on the inside. I've felt like this for a long time, even before I was here. I always felt like a let-down".*

HW: *"I was always ashamed of myself growing up. Although I did not do anything wrong, I just could not forgive myself always".*

RC: *"There was always this feeling of being unfit, this guilt-riddled feeling. I always had these feelings. It was constantly there. I just always felt like a burden at home".*

NM: *"I always felt like such a useless mum to my children. Now it feels even worse since I came here. I wanted to always open up the ground and bury me there. I just did not want to face life".*

AM: *"I know I am a mother but it does not feel like I'm a mother. There was always this huge gap, I just didn't know how to. I always felt failed".*

Based on these thoughts reflected upon, it can be supposed that incarcerated mothers in this study view themselves as failed mothers due to the strong biological roots of their life's own experiences. Seeing that the lives of most of the participants were riddled with financial challenges, an assortment of abuses and sharing unhealthy relationships with family members, it can be conferred that an incarcerated mother thinks of herself and her life as a failure, which constructs their failed motherhood concept. During the discussion of this concept with the participants in this study, most mothers were in agreement as has been revealed. Most participants had not thought of this concept prior but once pointed out they felt they could relate to it.

6.5 RESEARCH RESULTS – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The semi-structured interviews comprised of an interview guide which contained 20 questions. The questions created were drawn from experiences and challenges as expressed by incarcerated mothers which were revealed during the widespread literature review process (Luyt, 2008; Goulding, 2004; Easterling, 2012; Clark, 1995; Caddle & Crisp, 1997; Stone, 2013). Similar questions were created for this study to ascertain if such challenges are predominant to the participants within this research. Identical questions were posed to each of the participants, with delivery and conclusion of the questions taking place via the interview process.

Most of the participants cried when recalling their feelings regarding their children. At this point of the interview, the researcher attempted to comfort the participant and suggested taking a break. However, most participants were willing to continue and revealed that this is a daily experience for them, that they cry for their children. Sentiments of the participants have been noted against their challenges experienced. As is synonymous with qualitative research, these citations offer a more detailed and described account to explain the feelings experienced and understood by the participants within this study (Mariampolski, 2001:7).

Questions posed during the semi-structured interview sessions were grouped into various themes. These themes created the framework for the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers and this thematic data establish answers against the questions posed. The principal themes of this research are contained within the interview guide and have been broken down into the following categories of challenges experienced by the incarcerated mother and questions put forward were further probed. The probing of a theme affords for a more complete and wider understanding to the response received (Creswell, 2007:63). This will now occur under the following themes:

- the background of the incarcerated mother,
- feelings of depression and despair,
- the children of incarcerated mothers,
- visitation and bonding processes,
- substitute caring whilst mothers are incarcerated,
- incarcerated mother's support systems, as well as
- rehabilitation and re-integration programmes offered.

6.5.1 Background

The literature review on the background of an incarcerated mother has been discussed in Chapter 2. This section outlines the background of this study's participants to enable this research an opportunity to find similarities against the discussion revealed in Chapter 2.

6.5.2 Residence

Ten of the participants (66.67%) indicated having lived in Durban or its surrounding areas prior to their incarceration. The remaining participants were from Bergville, Empangeni, Johannesburg, Newcastle, and Pietermaritzburg.

6.5.3 Education

Seven of the participants (46.67%) indicated having completed their matric studies, four concluded that they did not complete high school (26.67%) and four confirmed that they had received a tertiary education (24.67%). Two of the four participants that received a tertiary education had done so whilst incarcerated.

6.5.4 Marital Status

Five of the participants indicated being single (33.33%), five were widows (33.33%), three were married (20%) and two were divorced (13.33%).

6.5.5 Employment Status

Seven of the participants (46.67%) revealed their unemployment status, whilst three of the participants (20%) revealed casual employment and only five of the participants (33.33%) were employed at the time of them being incarcerated. It's indicative that the background of incarcerated mothers in this research mostly hinder on unemployment.

Most participants are single parents as most of them revealed being single or were widowed at the time of their incarceration. Further, most of the participants were from Durban or its surrounding areas. These findings of unemployment, being single parents, and some not completing school are similar to the findings in Chapter 2. As a result, it can be inferred that incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre share similar backgrounds to that of incarcerated mothers from around the world.

6.5.6 Challenge 1: Feelings of depression and despair

Women in correctional centres endure intense feelings of guilt, not only for their crimes committed but also for having abandoned their children (Baunach, 1985:64). It's been more than three decades since the study of Baunach was concluded, yet participants in this study indicated similar feelings. Participants discussed their feelings of depression and despair in-depth. Initially, some of the participants felt reluctant to "open up" however once the interview progressed, participants felt more relaxed and eased and for that reason talked more freely regarding their anguish and heartaches experienced regarding their children whilst incarcerated. All of the participants noted feelings of strong anguish, heartache, depression, despair, sadness, distress, hopelessness, agony, grief, pain, sorrow and emotional suffering due to the separation that incarceration creates between her and her children.

Incarcerated mothers anguishes are further heightened by the lengthy sentences which they receive and not being able to fully engage in roles which they occupied prior i.e., a teacher not being able to have full autonomy over her class. In addition, depression and despair impediments receive no specialised assistance, as access to a mental health professional is very limited.

TV: *"I have a lot of depression when stuff happens at home. I am not able to be there. My big daughter lost her child and I couldn't be there for her. That depresses me a lot. I am here, they are there. I can't help them at all. I should have not done this crime, I am suffering and my children's are suffering too. When I'm sick, I just have to bear it. The doctor only comes once a week for a few hours and only sees to emergencies. Our pain is not important".*

RC: *"I already had many operations. I don't like going to outside hospitals, it's very embarrassing. I'm always chained and people just stare at me. I don't understand why the hospital here can't help me. All this is stress induced as I have been away*

for many years from my children, the years have gone by, and there was no motherhood for my children. The justice system does not take into consideration mothers. They gave me so many years for drugs but some murderers get lesser sentences. My cellmate is here for murder. That is very scary for me and this time that I lost can't be regained. I feel so guilty about abandoning my children, I am unfit".

NM: "It's so stressful, especially at night. I was taking 8 sleeping tablets at night. You don't know how they feel, how they are being treated. It's too much stress for me. You can't even comfort your child from here. You can do nothing from here. Most mothers here have been rejected by their families. The worse is when some mothers children die and they are not allowed to go to the funeral. Even if we go somewhere, we go in chains. I told my son that I'm in school and he said No Ma! You are in prison. I read the board outside. I was so shocked and so sad. I could not say anything as he knew I was lying and then I understood that he learnt to read".

RP: "I constantly worry about my child. That stresses me a lot. I did not see my child for the first 13 years that I was here. I blame myself for all this and the wrong that I have done. I'm unable to turn back the turn of time. It is such a terrible and empty feeling".

HR: "It feels like hell. I blamed God for a long time. I constantly cry and I'm addicted to pills now. I feel so hurt and ashamed. I take the pills to forget, but when these pills wear off, the problems and issues are still there. There are only two social workers here with so many of us to see to. We can't go to an outside hospital for help with these kinds of things. The members don't understand these things we go through".

XM: "I'm feeling so sad because I really long for my children. Sometimes I forget what they look like. I think, is my son tall, is he losing his teeth. I can't recognise

them anymore because I hardly get to see them. That makes me sad and to cry a lot. I'm a young girl who's in prison. I should be working and living a life. I have nothing to my name. It will be very hard for me to get a job on the outside because of this prison thing. I wish I did things differently. I feel so ashamed and hopeless. Especially when I call home and hear that one of my kids is sick, I stress and worry a lot".

AM: *"Being here is very painful, even if you miss your children, you can't see them. It's very paining. I don't see them for so long and now they are so grown up, it's too painful. My stress is a lot because I can't be there for them when I hear what they are doing".*

TB: *"I developed black marks on my face from crying so much, this depression has killed me. I worry so much for my children, that they don't have the support of their mother. I worry they will steal peoples' bag, robs and smoke whoonga (drugs)".*

SN: *"A big challenge to me being here is that I can't educate my children. I used to be a teacher on the outside, here I am nothing. That depresses me a lot. I help the members to teach other offenders but the members think they know too much. They use me to do their personal assignments. They don't understand anything we go through".*

It is transparently evident that incarcerated mothers endure extreme levels of depression and despair whilst separated from their children.

6.5.7 Challenge 2: Opportunities for bonding

Contact with one's children on the outside is vital and the most important form of support and bonding for the incarcerated mother. Visits are beneficial and positive and they create an assurance for their children that their "mother is still alive" (Qhogwana, 2017:68). The researcher observed the visitation area was a cold

communal room with a few benches and desks scattered around. There was no private area where an incarcerated mother could sit, discuss matters and bond with her children. Two categories of visits were noted. Category A consists of five visits a month with each visit spanning one hour. During the first six months of incarceration, all offenders reside in Category B. A category B visit is separated by a glass partition which consists of four visits a month with each visit covering 45 minutes. If an offender who is in category A commits any misdemeanour whilst incarcerated, they revert to category B. All participants belonged to category A and all participants indicated that lost visits were not carried forward.

Participants in this study openly discussed bonding processes with their children. Ways of bonding include the writing of letters, telephone calls, and visits. Most participants indicated infrequent visits, limited time to make calls, insufficient assistance from their children's caregivers to aid with visits and that they did not write to their children due to the Department of Correctional Services officials opening and reading letters and cards to and from their children.

6.5.7.1 The frequency of visits

Two participants had visits from their children every week (13.33%). Four participants received visits once a month (26.67%), Two participants received visits once a year (13.33%), four participants received visits twice a year (26.67%), 1 participant received visits thrice a year (6.67%), one participant received visits twice in 2 years (6.67%), and one participant received a visit once after 13 years of her incarceration (6.67%). It can be prudently deduced that most of the participants receive rather infrequent and rare visits from their children.

Most of the participants cited reasons for non-visits as being their children were far away from the correctional centre, that they shared no positive connections with the carers of their children so as to assist with visits and that the costs of visits were unaffordable. All participants indicated that visitations from their children were

exceptionally important to them and that it was something that they looked forward to most. Some of their sentiments are cited below.

XM: *"I see my children two times in three years. I hardly get to see them. My daughter does not know me. She was only six months old when I was incarcerated, now she is four plus. She looks at me not knowing that I'm her mother. She says to my son who is older that I'm his mother".*

TV: *"My children rarely visit me. They are in Joburg. It's far away. My daughter is now eighteen. I was here since she was twelve. Now she can visit on her own but it's far. She has to come so far and spend so much just to see me for that one hour. If I request an extra hour because they are so far, then I must suck up to certain people in this place".*

RP: *"For the first thirteen years I did not see my daughter. Not once. Now I have met with her but things are very rocky. I couldn't even phone or see my child".*

6.5.7.2 Personal contact

All participants indicated being forbidden by the Department of Correctional Services from having personal contact with their children. Personal contact was just limited to a hug. Below are some of the participants' sentiments regarding visitations inclusive of personal contact with their children.

AM: *"My mother is not working, it's expensive and it's far. I see my children one time a year. I can only hug them but we are not allowed to play with them".*

ZZ: *"I see my children two times a year and these visits are very important to me. I am only allowed to hug my children. That's all. It's very painful and we can only talk for an hour".*

6.5.7.3 Telephone calls and Letters

Most of the participants indicated calling their children on a weekly basis. Factors that hindered their telephone calls were; not having sufficient prepaid airtime to use the phone booth available at the correctional centre, the long queues to use the phone and time restrictions for using the phone as there were so many of them wanting to use the phone. Some of the participants indicated receiving no written communication.

HW: *“Because my section is big, on a Friday after the workshop we can only phone for three minutes and seven minutes on a Saturday and a Sunday”.*

SS: *“I only talk to my child over the phone. It’s not the same because I’m not there. I try to reason with him”.*

NM: *“Some sections have 80 ladies and there is only one phone station per section. This makes phone calls very limited and we don’t give each other anything. No cards or letters, nothing. Not even from my big one. The members always open everything up to see it first”.*

6.5.7.4 Transport costs

Some of the participants indicated that the cost of transport was a factor which hindered visitations between them and their children. All participants maintained that the Department of Correctional Services does not offer any type of financial assistance for visitation with their children.

TB: *“Money is hard. I save the money I earn here and keep it in my shop account. That money I send to my children for transport to school fees. They don’t have money to visit me”.*

AM: *“My mother brings the little one with her on a visit as she does not have to pay for the little one to use public transport. She sits on her lap. My mother can’t afford the transport costs for the middle child who is thirteen years old. She is unemployed. She only receives R400 grant for my children every month, the money is little”.*

6.5.8 Caregivers assisting with visitation

Caregivers providing assistance is crucial for facilitating visits to the correctional centre, especially for minors. The rapport shared amongst an incarcerated mother and the substitute caregiver of her children outlines the level of connection and communication she has with her children (Stone, 2013:66). Although some of the participants indicated receiving assistance from their children’s caregivers, most of them did not. In cases where the caregiver was able to provide assistance to aid visitation, transport costs and the age of the caregiver hampered visitations between children and their mothers.

RP: *“No, never ever would my mother-in-law help to bring my child to see me. I couldn’t even phone or see my child. She never allowed my child to take a phone call from me”.*

TV: *“My sister takes care of my little one. My sister and I are close but she’s old now and can’t bring my daughter to visit”.*

HR: *“My one child is with my sister-in-law and the other one is in social care. Sometimes, maybe one time in over one year will my sister-in-law bring my child to visit. There are a lot of barriers between us. She never brings the older one to visit me as he is on drugs and refuses to see me. For me, social care doesn’t even bother about him and what he is doing”.*

XM: *“My Gogo (granny) takes care of my children. She is 75 years old. She tries to support me by all means. She even borrows money from loan sharks to come to see me after every six months. Now my Gogo is very sick and I can’t get to see my children. Now I will only see them when I get to go home”.*

6.5.9 Challenge 3: Relationships shared with Care – Givers

Dependent children are placed in the care of caregivers who are usually their maternal grannies, aunts, relatives or friends once their mother has been incarcerated (Feder & Feder, 2003:237). Participants in the study discussed the relationships they shared with their children’s caregivers. Few of the participants noted having a positive relationship with their children’s carers’ however; most participants indicated having challenging and strained relationships with them.

These challenges experienced with them directly impact on the incarcerated mother’s relationship with her children as visits between her and her children are affected. As discussed, visits are vital for an incarcerated mother and her children to bond. Sometimes, although positive relationships were shared with carers’, carers’ were old and did not understand the needs of children. This caused strain to the participants. Further, substitute carers’ fuelled negative thoughts into the minds of their children regarding them. In addition, certain participants revealed that their children had different fathers. Participants indicated having strained relationships with either of their children’s fathers. Not only does this hinder an incarcerated mother from having a positive relationship with her children, but children were also being separated and scattered away from each other.

RP: *“My daughter lived with my mother-in-law who fed her head with stories about me. My relationship with my mother-in-law is very hostile”.*

RC: *“My mother takes care of my children. I appreciate her taking care of them but she over-stresses me. She does not show love. My mother goes visiting her friends*

seven days a week, my children are left alone. She says to my children that they are burdens to her. That I am in jail and left my burdens with her. We never had a good relationship”.

NM: “I am close to my Gogo (granny) and sometimes she brings my son to visit. My children live with her. She is old; she is 86 years old and does not understand their needs. She thinks having pads are a luxury. My granny is from the old culture, she wants my daughter to use cloths instead of pads because she used cloths in her days. My children say to me that I am still alive, but Gogo tells everyone that I don’t have parents”.

AM: “My first child lives with her father and the second and third with my mother. The first one has a different father and I’ve no contact with him. I’m unable to see my first child. My mother does try to bring my youngest child to see me once a year”.

NM: “My first born is with her father in Joburg. The second one is with my mother-in-law in Newcastle. They have different fathers. I don’t get to see my first born who is eight because Joburg is far away and his father is difficult”.

TB: “My sister takes care of my children. We are not close at all but sometimes I phone her to check on my children. My three small children live with my sister. She is so heartless, always wants money. It troubles me that they are living like this”.

ZZ: “My ex-husband takes care of my children. He is very distant and very cold. I’m here for more than seven years now. He brought them thrice only to visit me. He does not even allow me to see my children’s school reports because he says that I must pay school fees and buy school uniforms. He doesn’t even allow me to send them birthday cards or anything”.

HW: *"My ex-husband looks after my children. Before, we were not close at all. Now things are a bit better. But I still worry because of before".*

VD: *"My first child lives with her father and the other two with my husband. I try to be amicable to the first one's father because of her but it's not always easy. I'm still married to my husband and I don't want any problems".*

Based on what was revealed by most of the participants, the majority of them shared strained relationships with their children's caregivers.

6.5.10 Challenge 4: Support Systems

Support received during incarceration influences and dictates the support network an incarcerated mother will receive upon her release and this has an impact on her reoffending (Hairston, 1991:99). Some participants in this study indicated receiving support whilst most of the participants indicated receiving no support from family, friends, fellow incarcerated mothers or the correctional centre. One participant felt that the correctional centre had saved her. The absence of support was predominant in the lives of incarcerated mothers as this is very revealing in the results received.

VD: *"It took me to lose everything in life, I had to hit rock bottom to find God again. Prison saved me, it has changed me. When I walk out I've learnt that choices are so important. Prison is a place where you can get rehabilitated. Here we have shelter and food, plus we get free courses on how to rehabilitate our lives for being a better person who has more worth and more value for a better society".*

AM: *"I respect my mom. She supports me. She tries, she didn't neglect me. Although I failed her, she tries for me. In this place, you can't trust everyone. They talk about your problems to others".*

HW: *"Here in prison you can only talk to certain people about your worries. You have to be careful who you talk to, as that information gets turned on you. Some are the warden's pets and then that warden will be after you".*

TB: *"My sister is terrible. Sometimes my mother is okay, she does visit sometime".*

SN: *"My eldest sister does try to visit sometime and support me but my two brothers don't bother at all. They never visited me and I'm here for so many years now. I'm not close to them at all".*

AS: *"Emotionally, this place is a wreck. It can kill a person".*

NM: *"We are treated like children here; you have to ask for everything. Even if you want pads, you have to ask. Some of the members are very difficult. They don't even greet you".*

XM: *"I'm not on good terms with anyone in my family, only my gogo cares, but she is so old now".*

HR: *"The only family I have is a brother. Shame, he does try to support me but he has his own life to live. I have no one else. I have no idea what I'll do when I'm released. Where will I stay and getting a job will be very hard".*

RC: *"I am very distant with all of my family. They don't even inquire about me. I wonder if they still care. My mother visits maybe once a year".*

NM: *"My sister died the previous week. I could not attend the funeral. Now I only got gogo (granny) in my life".*

RP: *"I have only one sister. She is the only family or friend that has visited me here in the past 22 years that I am here. We do advise one another here but you can't trust everyone here".*

6.5.11 Challenge 5: Rehabilitation Programmes Offered

Correctional facilities must deliver programs and implement procedures that uphold and improve relationships amongst an incarcerated mother and her children for incarcerated mothers are to go back to their children and their parent role (Sheridan, 1996:432). Participants freely discussed rehabilitation programmes delivered to them by correctional services. Some participants indicated that the spiritual programmes gave them some hope whilst most participants did indicate that most of the other programmes delivered were not beneficial or helpful towards their rehabilitation and re-entry. All participants indicated that no programme was available on mothering and ways of developing a healthy relationship with one's children.

RP: *"Only the spiritual programmes are good because in this place like this only God can help you".*

NM: *"I think anger management is okay. If we are angry, it teaches us not to fight with my children. The religious programme is also okay".*

TV: *"Only anger management helps. It teaches me that I must not do anything when I'm angry. It can help you if you are willing to change your ways. The rest of the programmes are wasting our time. I think of what will I do when I'm outside. Where will I go, what will I do? I will have no work because of my criminal record and no place to stay too. My sister is so old".*

HR: *"There are no programmes here that teach you about mothering, but there is one called self- image. Why are all the programmes here Christian based?"*

XM: *"None of the programmes offered assist in being a good mother. They only deal with the crime committed, not the person".*

AS: *"All programmes here are Christian based. What about the other religions? All programmes are standard and offered according to the crime committed".*

ZZ: *"Most of the courses offered here are in English. What about the mothers that don't understand English. Most of them just attend to collect certificates to show the parole board. But I have to worry about what work I will do when I'm out Because of my criminal record, I can't work at the SAPS any longer".*

HW: *"We are forced to do certain programmes according to the crime we committed. They have courses like electrical but only eight people get selected from the entire prison population. Only ten ladies from the workshop go on the sewing course and there are eighty people working there. You get chosen only if a member favours you. People like me don't get a chance of attending those courses".*

6.5.12 Challenge 6: Concerns regarding their children

When mothers are incarcerated, most children become parentless as it's usually their mothers who mostly care for them. Changes in their lives include school changes, a loss of companions and separation from family and siblings. (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17). Attempts to be a parent whilst incarcerated may create many damaging and destructive mental health conditions due to being incarcerated. (Easterling, 2012:3).

All of the participants in this study discussed having colossal concerns regarding their children and their upkeep. Most participants revealed the challenges their children were facing was due to their incarceration. Challenges included being involved in fights, declining school grades, failing in school, rebellion, being

unkempt, and drug abuse, attempted suicide, being in close proximity to danger such as rape and abuse and even considering wanting to worship the devil. All of these challenges as experienced by children of incarcerated mothers are serious and severe concerns for their mothers as well, as they are not able to assist them in any way as they are within the confines of the correctional centre.

VD: *"My children are dropping in their school performance. My son failed school. This incarceration affected him very badly. My eldest was very upset with my husband's gambling and my theft case".*

SS: *"My child and I were very close before I came here. This affects him a lot and he does not cope at school. For the first time, my child failed school".*

HW: *"My little one is acting up in school. He has become very rebellious and his marks have declined. My daughter started cutting her wrists when I got sentenced. She was sixteen years old then and she realised that I was not coming home. It got too much for her. Then this year she attempted suicide. She does not handle my incarceration well and she even failed school".*

ZZ: *"I hardly get to see my children. I remember when my son came, my boy was crying, and he said, look at me Ma, and look at my clothes. I'm suffering. Dad is always fighting; he is only worried about raising lobola to get married again".*

TB: *"My second born is always fighting in school due to anger. My big son used to love God so much but in 2013 he said to me that even if a devil worshipper can help me get you out of prison, then he will follow the devil".*

SN: *"When they need things I'm not there for them, I can't even attend their school functions. It is really frustrating because I do not have someone else to attend their school functions. I can't even help them with their homework on a daily basis. Education is important for me".*

AS: *"The children fight amongst themselves. They say hurtful things to me. This is their way of reacting to my incarceration. I fear for my children's safety. They live with family members who abuse alcohol and that concern kills me up. Even if they are doing wrong stuff, I need to address matters carefully. If I were on the outside I would be firm. I have to choose the right words at the right time because I tread on eggshells with them".*

AM: *"My older one has a lot of anger and he does not like to talk to me. It's because I'm in this place. Last year he failed school. If I ask him anything, he just cuts the call. I heard he is taking drugs".*

XM: *"My gogo (granny) is so old when she goes for pension she leaves my kids with other people. They know nothing about children. I have uncles and cousins that live with my gogo as well, I fear for rape and abuse of my children. I worry if they had a bath or had eaten".*

RC: *"My children act up a lot and say hurtful things to me. They say that I'm an unfit mother and want to tell them what to do when I myself could not be a mother to them. They say I was doing my own thing. The children don't understand that I wanted to give them a better life".*

6.6 CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 and chapter 4 reviewed the literature available on challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers on both the international scene as well as locally in South Africa. The Durban Westville Correctional Centre is one of the largest correctional centres nationally with Kwa-Zulu Natal housing 444 female offenders (National Offender Population Profile, 2008:20). Based on the outcomes of this research, it is inferred that incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre share similar, if not the same experiences to incarcerated mothers nationally and globally. Challenges such as emotional distress, visitation

impediments, hindered relationships with their children, inefficiencies of substitute caring and the lack of support systems together with the shortfalls of rehabilitation programmes offered require specific attention. The following chapter discusses the findings and recommendations against the results concluded from this chapter.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The principal aim of this study is to highlight the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre relating to childcare and the impacts these challenges have on her wellbeing, both emotionally and physically. Additionally, the study aims to uncover the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes offered to incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre. This study paid attention to the following questions:

- What are the various challenges endured by an incarcerated mother based at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre relating to childcare?
- What rehabilitation programmes are offered by the Department of Correctional Services to help incarcerated mothers cope with their challenges experienced in relation to their primary duty of being a mother?

These research questions point out that this study aimed to highlight incarcerated mothers individual expressions of their daily experiences regarding the various challenges they endure and to ascertain the effectiveness of the rehabilitation programmes offered to them at the correctional facility.

The findings of this study clearly highlight that the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre are similar to challenges endured by incarcerated mothers on both the national and international platforms. Though, as referred to in Chapter 5, fifteen participants comprised the study sample and that the findings cannot be all-encompassing to the entire population nationally, it is rather clear, based on the study findings that

incarcerated mothers endure similar challenges. However, further studies with larger samples could assist with such a limitation.

The following findings and recommendations are presented based on the outcomes of this research. Where a similar recommendation has been put forward from previous studies or certain strategies already adopted in other countries, they have been noted against each recommendation.

7.2 DEPRESSION AND DESPAIR

Finding 1: Feelings

It has been found that incarcerated mothers endure high levels of stress whilst incarcerated and that provision for mental health amenities are urgently needed (Poehlmann, 2005:1275; Shankardass, 2014:6; Clark, 1995:324). All participants in this study revealed having feelings of strong anguish, heartache, depression, despair, sadness, distress, hopelessness, agony, grief, pain, sorrow and emotional suffering due to the separation from their children that incarceration creates.

Recommendation 1: Systematic mental health care

There is a need for an organised therapy unit to be made available at the correctional centre. One that specifically handles issues regarding depression and despair. Studies (Shankardass, 2012:6; Skiles, 2012:688; Goulding, 2004:53) indicate that developing a mental health care system would benefit incarcerated mothers.

Finding 2: Misery

Challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers adversely affect her health and how she adjusts to the correctional settings (Piacentri, 2009:534; Skiles,

2012:671). Participants indicated that their impediments relating to depression and despair receive no attention, as access to professional assistance is non-existent. None of the participants indicated having received any form of psychological assistance, noting that there were only two social workers available for the entire female inmate population.

Recommendation 2: Additional psychologists

The Department of Correctional Services is required to offer psychological attention to incarcerated mothers to address their state of depression. A psychologist is urgently required as mental health issues were noted by all of the participants. Participants mostly cried, were unable to sleep and addicted to sleeping tablets. Studies (Agboola, 2014:193; Skiles, 2012:688) mention a lack of remedial staff in female correctional facilities and that an increase to the present staffing complement is required. This aids correctional facilities to refine their processes as well, as this establishes better management of their incarcerated mothers or such issues can only intensify and deepen (Shankardass; 2012:6).

Finding 3: Misunderstanding of emotional stress

Professional services are imperative for the rehabilitation of incarcerated mothers. It has been indicated that their anxiety issues could not be understood by their members. They felt helpless and could not attain assistance from outside hospitals in this regard.

Recommendation 3: Assistance from the Department of Health

Noting that the Department of Correctional Services is unable to provide adequate professional attention to incarcerated mothers regarding their mental health conditions, it is recommended that correctional services partner with the Department of Health to assist in such matters or that such services be separated

from the correctional division and retained solely by the Department of Health. Goulding (2004:52) reveals that this stance would afford equal health care to all, i.e., the public population as well as the correctional inmate population.

Finding 4: Influence of sentence length

Some of the participants noted that their feelings of anguish and morbidity are heightened by the lengthy sentences which they receive. Due to long periods of incarceration, participants revealed having lost contact with their children. Longer sentences mean being absent from their homes and their families for a longer duration of time. One participant indicated that she received a seven year sentence for shoplifting cosmetics to the value of R2000 whilst another participant indicated that she received a heftier sentence for a drug offence than the people who commit murder.

Recommendation 4: Alternative sentencing for women with children

The researcher is not recommending that females who commit misconduct should not be punished for those actions; however, there is clearly a need for alternatives to incarceration for mothers who commit misconduct, especially for non-violent misconduct. Abolition of minimum sentencing policies, shorter periods of incarceration for certain crime categories and greater chances of or easier access to parole could assist in addressing such problems, particularly regarding mental health issues as experienced by incarcerated mothers.

A further alternative to incarceration could be the increased use of electronic monitoring for female offenders with children. This scheme could alleviate costs and would drastically lessen the harsh impacts of incarceration for mothers with children. A circumspect approach with clear guidelines is recommended to ensure that the system is not abused by pregnancy. For example, to qualify for alternative sentencing a woman should already have children when the crime is committed. In

addition, serious violent crimes may be excluded from these alternative approaches to sentencing.

Studies (Stone, 2013:126; Agboola, 2014:193; Shankardass, 2012:6; Farrell, 1998:14; Law, 2014:3; Bhana, 2001:40; Fontebo, 2013, 294; Vetten, 2008:152) discuss alternative sentencing approaches for incarcerated mothers as alternatives to incarceration would reduce the severe effect that incarceration carries on a mother and her children.

Finding 5: Being fearful for their safety

Some of the participants indicated that they were not housed as per their crime category, which made them fearful for their safety. Drug offenders are being housed with murderers and this heightens the stress endured by incarcerated mothers. Negotiating this causes further stress on an incarcerated mother.

Recommendation 5: Housing of similar crime categories

Studies (Festen, 2002:21; Du Preez, (Herbig & Hesselink), 2012:33) indicate that this combination of violent offenders and non-violent offenders creates hyper-vigilance, suspicions and mistrust amongst the offenders. It is a recommendation that the Department of Correctional Services house offenders of a similar crime category together as this could alleviate such a challenge.

Finding 6: Suicidal thoughts

For incarcerated mothers, thinking of ending their lives is suggestive and telling of the incredible depression and despair they endure (Mafume, 2014:27; Skiles, 2012:671; Gowland, 2011:8; Artz, Hoffman & Moulton, 2012:68; Agboola, 2014:51; Qhogwana, 2017:123; Luyt, 2008a:321). Some of the participants in this study shared similar thoughts and feelings as was discussed in the literature review.

Participants revealed that living is not worth the effort. Participants indicated that to be dead was better than being alive.

Recommendation 6: Minimising self-harm

Incarcerated mothers due to their mental health problems are in danger of inflicting self-harm. Certain approaches can be applied by the Department of Correctional Services to reduce this risk. Goulding, (2004:54) indicates that this can be channelled by creating an effective screening tool aimed at identifying and managing females who are at risk. This needs to be implemented on entry to the correctional centre, during incarceration and just prior to her release.

7.2 OPPORTUNITIES FOR BONDING

Finding 7: Long trips to the correctional centre

During the widespread literature search, a common reason for infrequent visits was the location of the correctional centre. On the international front it was noted that due to having fewer correctional centres to house females, females are kept very far from their homesteads and families, unlike male offenders, creating it difficult to retain family ties (Townhead, 2006:7; Khanzhina, 2011; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001; Mallicoat, 2012; Caddle & Crisp, 1997; Skiles, 2012; Piacentini *et al*, 2009; Moran & Pallot, 2009; Parveen, 2006; Mahachi & Madzingira, 2017; Nazra, 2017).

South Africa's Constitution provides a basis for the Department of Correctional Services mandate. The Department stands compelled to meet and deliver the terms of the Constitution regarding treatment and administration of offenders. A right to humane management and for communication and visitation from an offender's family and next of kin is outlined in Section 35. By encouraging visitations as stipulated in the Constitution, the mother and child relationship would strengthen. However, South African studies indicate that due to having so few

correctional centres for females, they are kept far from their homes and families (Bhana & Hochfeld, 2001:17; Artz *et al*, 2012:11; Luyt, 2008:319; Fontebo, 2013:63-64; Agboola, 2014:122).

Most participants in this study indicated that they received occasional and infrequent visits from their children. One participant did not see her child for the first thirteen years of her incarceration. Most of the participants cited reasons for non-visits as being their children were far away from the correctional centre, that they shared no positive connections with their children's caregivers to assist with visits and that the costs of visits were unaffordable.

Recommendation 7: Incarcerated mothers being placed closer to their homes

Once mothers are incarcerated, it is recommended that incarcerated mothers be placed closer to their homes. Being kept at great distances from her home creates distance with her children and this physical distance creates an emotional distance between the mother and child relationship. Studies (Farrell, 1998:13; Bhana, 2001:40; Covington, 1998:15) maintain visitation between an incarcerated mother and her children are especially important and that keeping an incarcerated mother far from her family and children renders it problematic to maintain a strengthened mother and child relationship, hence they recommend that incarcerated mothers be placed closer to their homes.

Finding 8: Visitation

One of the policy mandates is for the Department to be recognised and developed into an establishment conducive for rehabilitating and re-integrating of the offender. An important element in creating an institution of rehabilitation is to create a healthy environment for mother and child bonding. It has been observed that the visitation area is a "cold" communal room with a few benches and desks scattered around. Participants indicated there was no private area or room where they could

engage with their children, to discuss matters of concern and to bond with their children. All participants indicated that personal contact was limited to a hug.

Recommendation 8: An encouraging visitation area

It is recommended that an area where discussions and bonding could conclude in a “warm” environment would encourage mothers and their children to engage. Younger children would be able to play with their mothers and mothers would be able to carry their children. In this way, children can feel more relaxed and open up to their mothers about challenges that they endure. A more private area creates an opportunity for family discussions and family discussions are healthy for both the mother and her children. This, in turn, allows the mother to listen and participate in the lives of her children by offering advice and guidance. This would afford her a sense of parenting whilst incarcerated and this is one of the factors that lead to effective rehabilitation.

The Department of Correctional Services needs to create a facility that caters for children to play without harm and interact with their mothers even though this is for a short period of time. This would encourage children to visit their mothers. Studies (Caddle & Crisp, 1997:3; Goulding, 2004:52; Bhana, 2001:41) all recommend and cite similar suppositions regarding an encouraging visitation area.

Finding 9: Financial fears

It has been found in studies (Mallicoat, 2012:463; Parke and Clarke-Stewart, 2001:7; Khanzhina, 2011:58; Nazra, 2017:8) that one of the reasons for infrequent visits is the costs associated with a visit to the correctional centre. Most participants in this study revealed a similar plight. They experienced reduced and minimal visits from their children due to financial strains as visits are expensive as this incurs transport costs.

Recommendation 9: Subsidised transport costs

In attempts to limit this impediment, correctional centres need to create programmes that assist with visits that aid in building the mother and child bond. Improved visitation is required that caters for the transport needs of children to visit their mother. Costs can be subsidised by the Department of Correctional Services and the Department of Social Development, faith groups and local charities. Studies (Farrell, 1998:14; Hoffmann, 2009:407; Bhana, 2001:41) all indicate similar recommendations to enhance and promote visitation in attempts of strengthening the mother and child bonding process.

7.3 SUPPORT MECHANISMS

Finding 10: A lack of support for incarcerated mothers

Most participants indicated a lack of support from their family and friends. All participants revealed feeling ashamed whilst most were scorned at by their siblings. This created profound hurt and loneliness for the participants. They wonder if people still care for them.

Recommendation 10: Gendered support programmes

Programmes are required that provide for the grooming of interpersonal skill-sets for incarcerated mothers with low self-esteem. Their hurt is twice as bad. Firstly, for the reasons for committing their crime and secondly for being abandoned by close family members. Offending mothers are labelled as “bad mothers”. This is a gendered issue which requires gendered support. Literature (Farrell, 1998:11; Van Voorhis, Salisbury, Wright & Baumann, 2008:21; Singh, 2009:112) indicates similar recommendations regarding gendered support of incarcerated females, who are mostly mothers.

Finding 11: Facing stressful situations

Some of the participants noted that they had endured traumatic events whilst incarcerated. Incidents included the death of their children, grandchildren and family members or their child's carer becoming old and falling ill.

Recommendation 11: Support against traumatic events

When correctional officials become aware that an incarcerated mother has experienced any significant dilemmas that involve their families, extra counselling and support services should be made available to her. Goulding (2004:54) recommends that these additional support services could take the shape of counselling services, religious services, and additional phone usage.

Finding 12: Lack of knowledge regarding available resources

Some of the participants who were abused at home by their intimate partners maintained that they had no one to turn to. They conceded as to not knowing whom to seek assistance from and the processes involved in attaining official help.

Recommendation 12: Support against domestic violence

It is a recommendation that the Department of Correctional Services highlights such information to females that have experienced violence, which could be physical, emotional, sexual or even verbal. Such contact details, including telephone numbers, needs to be plastered on the walls within the correctional centre. Goulding (2004:54) makes a similar recommendation in her study towards creating awareness of the various types of assistance available to assist abused mothers.

7.4 THEIR CHILDREN

Finding 13: The effects of maternal incarceration

All participants revealed having major concerns and worries for their children whilst incarcerated. Most participants indicated that their children were performing poorly at school, were rebellious, were abusing substances and even attempting suicide. Participants indicated there is a lack of positive support systems available to their children on the outside as their children are in the company of alcoholics and neglectful carers.

Recommendation 13: Creating a framework to assist children

It is recommended that schools introduce a programme that assists children with coping against stigma and having a positive outlook. This would assist affected children by building a positive self-image for themselves and better equip teachers and peers to understand their situations. As a result, children would attain improved support, be motivated to fare well in school and not be easily influenced by negative factors. Recognising such encouraging endeavours can only have a positive impact on the incarcerated mother as well. Studies (Parke and Clarke-Stewart, 2001:18; Bhana, 2001:42) recommend such initiatives indicating that children's requirements beyond the familial setup will be acknowledged.

Finding 14: Neglected children resorting to substance abuse

It was revealed during the study that when a child is left in social care whilst their mothers are incarcerated, they too are sometimes neglected and ignored, resorting to substance abuse.

Recommendation 14: Reducing the effects of punishment

The Department of Social Development is required to make an added effort on their parts to organise support for an incarcerated mother and her children instead of aiding punishment further. There is a serious need for this Department to create support systems as these children are part of society and their mothers will eventually return to this same society. Studies (Brown & Bloom, 2009:333; Bhana, 2001:42) make a similar recommendation in their studies indicating that such a measure would curb the impact of the incarceration process.

7.5 REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES

Finding 15: Ineffective training programmes

Most participants indicated that most of the training programmes offered to them at the correctional centre were not supportive of their rehabilitation needs. They indicated that programmes addressed crime categories and not individuals per se.

Recommendation 15: Revising rehabilitation programmes offered

It is a recommendation that the Department of Correctional Services conducts research on programmes which are offered at the correctional centre. The Department needs to recognise which of their programmes are beneficial and enhance these programmes. Programmes that afford an incarcerated mother better adaptation to the correctional environment and ones that support self-growth and motivation would be deemed as productive programmes that deal with the individual and not a crime category. De Wet (2005:150) makes a similar recommendation with the hope of having more enhanced training programmes available.

Finding 16: Unpleasant visitation experience

Part of the rehabilitation process is to provide programmes which sustain a healthy mother and child bond. Most of the participants indicated having minimal visits from their children. If a visit does conclude, it lasts for only one hour of talking in an overcrowded communal visiting area. All participants revealed that they are not permitted to engage in physical contacts with their children and that no special visit area was available for them to interact and bond with their children.

Recommendation 16: Creating an improved visitation experience

It is a recommendation that the Department of Correctional Services creates a programme that brings together incarcerated mothers and their children. One hour is insufficient for having quality time between a mother and her child, leave alone having more children and their caregivers. This programme could include a specific visit and play areas, games, toys, and walls having cartoon characters painted on them. This could be termed as “improved visitation”. Hoffmann (2009:401) makes a similar recommendation indicating that some correctional facilities permit overnight stays as well. This is frequently applied by the various states of America. In Minnesota as an example, it was found that this overnight stays help to create more positive and encouraging mother and child relationships.

Finding 17: An absence of maternally based programmes

All participants revealed that the correctional centre offers no programme that is specific to mothering. Participants noted that religious and skills programmes such as sewing and cooking were offered which they needed to present to the parole board. Seeing that most incarcerated females are mothers, it was surprising to note that none existed on the significance of maternal education. Although most incarcerated mothers may have biologically rooted behaviours which are based on their own life’s experiences, all participants indicated that they wanted to be good

mothers to their children. Participants indicated that they wanted to try to be better at mothering.

Recommendation 17: Creating a module on the effects of positive mothering

It is a recommendation that the Department of Correctional Services introduces a programme designed for incarcerated mothers. While considering the above recommendation, the researcher (an accredited assessor with the Education, Training and Development Seta) established that the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) has an extent of 17000 registered programmes and unit standards. A search on the South African Qualifications Authority database reveals not a single unit standard that encompasses any indication for creating a positive mothering culture. Learning material runs across every sector and sphere of life and employment i.e.; from engineering, to security management. Yet the very foundation of an individual's life is deeply connected to that of their mothers.

Mothers can be taught everything in life, from sewing to cooking, then why has no programme being devised on positive mothering. Various treatment programmes are available at the correctional centre such as educational courses, technical skills courses, social work programmes, psychological services programmes, health care programmes, sports, recreation, and arts activities programmes and spiritual care programmes. There seems to be many programmes for different issues and incarcerated mothers just go from one to the next as they are also required at parole stage to present certificates of programme attendance which is part of their parole requirements. Most of these rehabilitation programmes are general and generic to all offenders. Some of these programmes are used outside of correctional centres as well.

Seeing that mothers incarcerated are a specific and special category of offenders as set out in The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005), it is recommended that a specific unit standard is created for this minority group. In

doing so, The Department of Correctional Services would be the first service provider to construct and implement such a programme. Course content should be inclusive and not restrictive to the ensuing learning areas; the importance of the family structure, the importance of maternal bonding, the importance of relationships and support systems, preparing for re-entry and ways to combat social ramifications, developing ways of combatting recidivism, how to develop soft skills (communication, goal setting, listening, critical thinking, time management, and problem resolving techniques). Further, the development of spiritual awareness and the development of resiliency are factors that need to be addressed in such a module.

Elements of the rehabilitation programmes currently on offer need to be dissected and the exact parts that assist with incarcerated mothers be used to create an exclusive unit standard for this group of offenders. There is definitely a strong need for this specific tailor-made programme which focuses on a mothering sub-culture. The report undertaken by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services at the Durban Westville Correctional Centre (2005) recommends that the Department is required to accredit their courses (Parliamentary Portfolio Committee, 2005: Section D).

7.6 SUBSTITUTE CARERS'

Finding 18: Inadequate substitute care

Many participants indicated concerns regarding their children's substitute caring whilst they were incarcerated. Some factors included carers being old and having outdated ways, not being physically present at home most of the week due to visiting their friends, being alcoholic, and making lewd and profane comments to their children.

Recommendation 18: Assisting substitute carers with parenting skills

It is a recommendation that the Department of Correctional Services works in partnership with community support groups to create a recognised social support programme to assist substitute carers in cultivating efficient parent skills. This will assist children to not follow in their parents' footsteps and assist substitute carers to better understand and manage children whilst their mothers are incarcerated. This could also help to strengthen relationships between incarcerated mothers and substitute carers. Literature (Hoffmann *et al*, 2009:411; Bhana, 2001:41) make similar recommendations to assist with creating efficient substitute care.

Finding 19: Substitute carers and their lack of resources

Most participants indicated that their children's substitute carers were financially marginalised. Some participants indicated that their children could not visit, did not have sufficient supplies such as sanitary pads, and did not have school transport fees and clothes due to a lack of funds. The researcher further established that Substitute carers receive a nominal social care fee of R400 a child from the Department of Social Services.

Recommendation 19: Financial assistance from the Department of Social Services

The Department of Social Services needs to re-look their practices and funds allocated where incarcerated mothers are involved as children have primary needs and substitute caregivers are being financially burdened whilst mothers are incarcerated. Studies (Mallicoat, 2012:485; Festen, 2002:25) indicate similar recommendations regarding social welfare grants.

7.7 RE-ENTRY

Finding 20: Concerns regarding finding employment post-release

In the course of the literature review chapters, it became evident that on the international as well as the domestic front incarcerated mothers endure further challenges once released from the correctional system (Harris, 2011:3; Goulding, 2004:31; Stone, 2013:32; Luyt, 2008:13). Challenges ranged from not having a place to live, difficulties in attaining employment and the kind of relationships they encountered with their children post-release. Further, each participant in this study noted that they were eligible for release at some point and were concerned regarding their post-release as well. Participants indicated their concerns regarding accommodation and employment once released because they now had criminal records.

Recommendation 20: Spent convictions

It is recommended that a system of “spent convictions” be put in effect. This system defines clear time restrictions for using a criminal record. This limits the detection of old criminal records and convictions of petty misdemeanours. It is recommended that this system is put in place in South Africa as well. Stone (2013:127) reveals that this system is in place in certain parts of Australia. Stone recommends this system for the remaining parts of Australia and infers that this would assist released mothers against discrimination whilst trying to attain employment and avert the cycle of being a “bad mother” stigma.

Finding 21: Benefit of faith-based programmes

Some of the participants indicated that the faith-based programmes were useful to them for developing better self-esteem as they could only rely on God whilst incarcerated.

Recommendation 21: Continuity of faith-based healing

It is recommended that such programmes are delivered to released mothers as well as this would create for continuity for motivating released mothers. The Department of Correctional Services and faith-based organisations such as churches, mosques, temples, and synagogues can partner together to provide such services to released mothers and families affected. In certain states in America, such programmes have motivated released mothers for changing their attitudes along with their behaviours (Festen, 2002:30). This creates a constructive support system affording the released mother better opportunities and better prospects from the wider community she resides in (Du Preez, 2008:193).

Finding 22: Insufficient funding

The literature review components have demonstrated that having a positive support system is vital for a positive re-entry into society. Most participants indicated having weak support systems, with not much family or friends that they could rely on and concerns regarding attaining employment. This is indicative that they would experience struggles post-release from the correctional system. One major struggle would be not having some finances to sustain them at their point of release.

Recommendation 22: A state grant to assist with re-entry

It recommended that the Department of Social Services in association with the Department of Correctional Services afford a type of grant to released mothers against a fixed time period to support them in their transition. In the United States of America, the Welfare Reform Bill offers aid to released females, with certain conditions, for a specific time period (Mallicoat, 2012:472). Released mothers in South Africa as well should be able to apply and be granted government aid. Taking into account the various challenges that incarcerated mothers have

endured prior to and during their incarceration, this grant would significantly aid them with their re-entry.

Finding 23: Recurring patterns of abuse

The literature review components of this study have provided evidence that offending females have experienced a cycle of abuse. Once released they return to the same patterns of domestic abuse which results in them re-offending and being sent back to the correctional centre. This cycle of abuse requires an interjection.

Recommendation 23: Reinforcing restraining orders

As an interjection, it is recommended that restraining orders relating to domestic violence be reinforced and strengthened to aid in more improved protection for females who are attempting to escape domestic violence. Goulding (2004:52) makes a similar recommendation to assist females enduring domestic violence.

7.8 CONCLUSION

Females have endured many challenges over the centuries and have come a long way since historic times. Females are being recognised as a major contributing force to the economy, and gender equality has become a priority. The Commission for Gender Equality is recognised by Section 187 of the Constitution of South Africa. This Commission was set up to “promote respect for gender equality and the protection, development, and attainment of gender equality” (Section 187 of the Commission on Gender Equality Amendment Act, 2012:2). The Constitution reflects the hopes and aspirations of the people.

Female offenders, the majority being mothers, also have hopes and aspirations. Whilst incarcerated, they endure challenges regarding a lack of support systems, minimal opportunities for bonding with their children, various emotional and

psychological impediments, continuous concerns regarding their children, sharing mostly negative relationships with their children's substitute carer's and are offered rehabilitation programmes that have little or no impact on their lives. Upon release, these mothers have to re-enter society to resume their mothering roles and take up employment. A major element of the incarceration process is to curb recidivism and for the re-integration of the offender. This achievement lies solely on the rehabilitation programmes offered. Males are the majority of offenders; their rehabilitation programmes are customised for re-entry, i.e., adapting new skills to be a motor mechanic. Mothers are the majority of female offenders; however, no specific programme has been tailor-made and delivered to address specific challenges experienced by them.

Based on the challenges discovered in this study, findings and recommendations have been prescribed. As discussed, the relationship between a mother and child are of significant importance. This study further embeds that relationships between mothers and their children are in distress. These children may, in turn, offend as well due to the many challenges experienced by not having sound relationships with their mothers. This further places the child in a harmful situation and the cycle of offending continues generation after generation. Policy and practice require consistency in their approach. One relies on the other for achievement. In order to attain and maintain a productive policy, the Department of Correctional Services requires progressive practice in their procedures by implementing specific programmes that address the enormous challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers.

Starting in the 1980s, studies concentrating on the particular requirements of females in correctional settings became a central focus. Researchers started talking up against the criminal justice system, bringing up that there was little proof that the present rehabilitation could even apply concretely to female incarceration. As a result, specific needs have been recognised as vital to females. These elements speak to the reality of female wrongdoing, and, in spite of the fact that

there are insufficient studies to affirm and foresee recidivism, their aptness to females' lives remain a significant point that further researches should be concluded.

A gender-specific need implies recognising specific factors that are exclusive to females by using frameworks and studies. As discussed, female offenders are largely mothers. If a theory can assist to create better relationships between offending mothers and their children, then it's a situation of a win. A win for the system of corrections as reoffending will minimise, a win for attaining healthier and positive bonding processes for mothers incarcerated and her children and a win for reducing these special challenges as experienced by incarcerated mothers.

7.9 LIST OF REFERENCES

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A1: LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

1. TITLE OF THE RESEARCH

Mothers Behind Bars: Challenges experienced relating to childcare during incarceration.

2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research is to understand the challenges experienced by the incarcerated mother whilst incarcerated as well as to establish if programs implemented by the Department of Correctional Services are adequate and effective pertaining to incarcerated mothers.

3. PROCEDURES

To accomplish this purpose, interview sessions are to be held. This would comprise the asking of the same questions to all participants in this research. The interview would be a one on one discussion between the researcher and the participant focusing on open-ended questions. The interview would consist of up to an hour. This interview process enables the researcher to conclude findings of challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers.

4. RISKS

This study involves no deception and risks to participants could be the feeling of sadness. Your answers will not result in any form of disadvantage. Should participants feel saddened by discussions concerning challenges experienced, the researcher has requested the services of a correctional counsellor to be made available to any participant requiring such a service? After the questionnaire

session, a debriefing session would occur between you and me. Please indicate should such services be required.

5. PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

Participation in this study is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question or remove yourself from the study at any stage. You will not be paid for your participation or involvement in this study.

6. SAMPLING

Participants chosen for this study are incarcerated mothers who are able to afford insight into their challenges experienced. That is the sole criteria required for participation within this study. Challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers are not specific to race, religion or even age. It is experienced by all incarcerated mothers within the correctional system.

7. CONFIDENTIALITY

The information you provide will be used to generate research data which will be used for research purposes only. I assure you that your identity and personal information will be kept private and confidential. Should you have any questions or concerns regarding the study please direct it to the researcher Ms. Sharona Deonarain. Please indicate your voluntary participation in this study by signing a copy of this document.

I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the study. I hereby agree to take part in the study.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT:

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER:

DATE:

APPENDIX A2: INFORMED CONSENT FORM ISI-ZULU

ISITHASISELO A2: ULETHE WOKUQALA OKUQHELEKILE

1. ISIHLOKO SOCWANINGO

Omama ababoshiwe:izinselelo abahlanmgana nazo ezihlobene nokuboshwa kabo

2. NJONGO YESIFUNDO

Injongo yalolu cwaningo ukuqonda izinselelo ezibhekana nomama ababoshiwe futhi yikuthola ukuthi izinhlelo ezenziwa umnyango wokuhlumelelisa izimilo zenele futhi ziyasebenza yini komama ababoshiwe.

3. INQUBO

Ukufeza lenjongo,kuzobanjwa izigcawu zokubuza imibuzo.Lokhu kuzofaka ukubuza imibuzo efanayo kubo bonke ababambe iqhaza kulolu ucwaningo.Lemibuzo izogxila ekubuzeni umuntu ngamunye engxoxweni phakathi komcwaningi naloyo obuzwayo kugxile emibuzwenievalelekile.Ukubuza kuzothatha isikhathi esiyihora elilodwa.Loluhlelo lwemibuzo luzokwenza ukuthi umcwaningi athole isiphetho ngezinselelo ezibhekana nomama ababoshiw

4. INGCUPHE

Lolu cwaningo alunawo amanga nengcophe kulabo ababambe iqhaza abangahle babe nokukhathazeka.Izimpendulo zakho ngeke zibe nomphumela omubi. Uma labo ababambe iqhaza ocwaningweni beba nokukhathazeka ngezingxoxo ezimayelana nezinselelo zomama ababoshiwe, umcwaningi usevele ucele umeluleki womnyango wezokuhlumeleliswa izimilo ukuthi abakhona uma kukhona omdingayo.

Ngemuva kukugcwalisa iphepha lembuzo kuzoba khona isikhathi sokubonisana phakathi kwami nawe uyacelwa ukuthi usho uma sikhona isidingo salokho.

5. AMALUNGELO ALABO ABAZOBAMBA IQHAZA

Ukubamba iqhaza kuyinto oyenza ngokuthanda kwakho futhi ungenqaba ukuphendula noma yimuphi umbuzo noma ungazikhipha kulolu cwaningo noma nini angeke ukhokhelwe ngokubamba iqhaza noma ukuzibandakanga nalolu awaningo.

6. AMASAMPULA

Ababambe iqhaza kulolu cwaningo ngomama ababoshiwe abanolwazi ngezinsalelo ababhekana nazo. Yilowo ngomo kuphela odingekayo ekutheni ubambe iqhaza kulolu cwaningo. Izinsalelo ezithinta omama ababoshiwe aziqondisiwe kuhlanga oluthile, inkolo noma iminyaka yobudala. Yizinsalelo ezithinta bonke omama ababoshiwe emnyangweni wokuhlumeleliswa izimilo.

7. IMFIHLO

Ulwazi olunikezayo luzosesthenziswa ukuveza imininingwane ezosetshenziwa ocwaningweni ukuphela. Ngizaqinisekisa ukuthi igama nemininingwane yakho izogcinwa iyimfihlo. Uma unembizo noma kukhona okungakugcili mayelana nalulo cwaningo uyacelwa ukuthi uxhumane nomcwaningi unkosazana Sherona Deonorain.

Uyacelwa ukuthi ukhombise ukuzikhethele kwakho okubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo ngokuthi usayine leli phepha lapho ngezansi.

Ngizayiqonda into eukekhwe yileliphepho nesimo socwaningo ngolokho ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo

ISIGNISHA YOBAMBE IQHAZA:

ISIGNISHA YOMCWANINGI:

USUKU:

APPENDIX B: DRAFT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is your age, race, length of current sentence, offence category & the number of times you have been incarcerated?

2. How many children do you have & what are their ages?

3. Describe your background? Marital status, residence, education and employment.

4. How often do you receive visits from your children, are these visits important to you, is there personal contact & how does it benefit you & your children?

5. Does the Department of Correctional Services aid with transport costs for dependent children unable to afford costs?

6. How do you feel about being separated from your children, do your children manage with this loss and describe your relationship with your children?

7. Do your children understand your incarceration & why?

8. Do you endure increased levels of anxiety & depression due to your separation from your children?

9. What is your biggest challenge to incarceration & to being an incarcerated mother?

10. How do you mother your children whilst incarcerated?

11. Describe your relationship with your family at present and previous?

12. Do you experience feelings of loss & guilt & shame whilst incarcerated?

13. Do you form bonds during discussions about your children with other incarcerated mothers?

14. Do you reveal your fears & plights with one another?

15. Who takes care of your children?

16. Describe your relationship with that person?

17. Does this individual assist with visits between you & your children?

18. Are there any rehabilitation programmes offered exclusively for incarcerated mothers?

19. Are any of the programmes offered beneficial for incarcerated mothers?


20. What is the one thing you miss most which you & your child used to do whilst you were free?

Signature of participant

Date

APPENDIX C:

ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM UNISA'S ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE



UNISA college of law

COLLEGE OF LAW RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Date: 2017/02/10

Reference: ST 150/ 2016

Applicant: S. Deonarain

Dear S. Deonarain
(Supervisor : Prof W Luyt)

DECISION: ETHICS APPROVAL

Name	S. Deonarain
Proposal	Mothers behind bars : Challenges experienced relating to Child care during incarceration
Qualification	MA Corrections Management


Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the College of Law Research Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. **Final approval is granted.**

The application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

1. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics which can be found at the following website:

http://www.unisa.ac.za/cmsys/staff/contents/departments/res_policies/docs/Policy_Research%20Ethics_rev%20app%20Council_22.06.2012.pdf
2. Any adverse circumstances arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the College of Law Ethical Review Committee.



University of South Africa
Pretter Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392, Unisa, 0003, South Africa
www.unisa.ac.za/naam

An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants

3. *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

Note:

The reference number (top right corner of this communique) should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication (e.g. Webmail, E-mail messages, letters) with the intended research participants, as well as with the URERC.

Kind regards



PROF D GOVENDER
CHAIR PERSON: RESEARCH ETHICS
REVIEW COMMITTEE
COLLEGE OF LAW



PROF R SONGCA
EXECUTIVE DEAN:
COLLEGE OF LAW

APPENDIX D:
APPROVAL FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES
RESEARCH DIRECTORATE



correctional services

Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0001 Poyntons Building, C/O WF Nkomo and Sophie De Bruyn Street, PRETORIA
Tel (012) 307 2770, Fax 086 539 2893

Ms S Deonarian
76 Lemuria Grove
Arena Park
Chatsworth
4092

Dear Ms T Deonarian

**RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON: "MOTHERS BEHIND BARS: CHALLENGES
EXPERIENCED RELATING TO CHILD CARE DURING INCARCERATION"**

It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above topic has been approved. Your attention is drawn to the following:

- The relevant Regional and Area Commissioners where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- Your internal guide will be **Ms JCN Chonco: Regional Head Development and Care, KwaZulu-Natal**.
- You are requested to contact her at telephone number (033) 355 7348 before the commencement of your research.
- It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your interviewing times.
- Your identity document and this approval letter should be in your possession when visiting.
- You are required to use the terminology used in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) e.g. "Offenders" not "Prisoners" and "Correctional Centres" not "Prisons".
- You are not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during your visits, however the audio recorder is allowed.
- You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication (including presentation at workshops, conferences, seminars, etc) of the report.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number (012) 307 2770 / (012) 305 8554.

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services.

Yours faithfully

ND SIHLEZANA
DC: POLICY COORDINATION & RESEARCH

DATE: 02/03/2018